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## JAMES W. GRIMES VERSUS THE SOUTHRONS

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*Being some account of the clash between Mr. James W. Grimes of Iowa and Senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina and Mr. Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia on the hustings in Iowa in the gubernatorial campaign of 1854 when the "Oppositor," or the nascent Republican party, secured possession of the seats of authority in the first free state of the Louisiana Purchase and in its representation in the national Senate at Washington.*

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(Concluded from July, 1926, number)

### VII

Before *The Washington Union* had turned its batteries against Mr. Grimes, Senator Dodge had forwarded (April 24) to Messrs. Harvey and McKenny, publishers of the *State Gazette* of Burlington, copies of the correspondence with Senator Butler denying that he had used the expression anent Iowa and the Germans ascribed to him. The *Valley Whig* (May 11) in a short, sharp editorial comments caustically upon the course of "our senators" and in rebuttal of Senator Butler's denial cited his original assertion in the Senate (February 24) and submits that if that "did not sustain Mr. Grimes we do not understand the force of language," and thereupon "commended the correspondence to all continental comers to Iowa, and especially to Germans."

On May 19 Mr. Howell reprinted in the *Valley Whig* the article of the *Washington Union* of April 29, and in a long editorial entitled "War of the Slaveholders on Mr. Grimes," he denounced the course of Senators Dodge and Jones in the matter

in a vigorous fashion. The editorial as a whole is not very effective. There is more fury than argument, more prejudice than point.

No sooner had Mr. Grimes read the leader of *The Daily Union* attacking him than he realized the powerful effect such a broadside would have in Iowa where he apprehended it would be given extensive circulation, unless he took prompt and effective measures to counteract it. He knew that correspondence would for the most part be futile, and further that neither friends nor partisan editors, however able and well disposed, could effectually conduct his defense or overcome the effects of the broadside from the Administration organ, because they were not so familiar with the facts, nor so likely to apprehend the subtle points of the *Union's* argument. He acted with energy and dispatch, deciding at once to alter his plans, forego the adjustment of his personal affairs in New Hampshire and return to Iowa.

On reaching the state Mr. Grimes did three things. He penned a vigorous rejoinder to the *Union's* article, issuing it at Burlington May 23, again publishing it in pamphlet form and addressing it "To The People of Iowa." He arranged an extensive itinerary with a schedule of thirty-one speeches in as many different cities and towns, ranging from eastern to western border, from southern to northern line of the state. And he challenged his competitor to meet him at "any and all" the places and jointly to discuss with him the issues before the electors.

In his rejoinder to the *Union* Mr. Grimes returned blow for blow. He charged that "the article was evidently furnished by or prepared at the instance of the Iowa senators." Such a proceeding, however, he concedes to be "a matter of taste"; but unwittingly thereby they have forced "a dangerous issue" that must be decided in August, to wit:

*Whether the freemen of this state shall be represented in the United States Senate by men who regard the interests of South Carolina and Mississippi more than the interests of Iowa. Whether on every question affecting the rights of free labor and free territory, the extreme South shall find its most willing and devoted supporters in the senators from this free state.*

To Senator Butler's charge that he, Grimes, had misrepresented him in respect of the Germans and Iowa, Mr. Grimes reiterates his original assertion and, to avoid all quibbles, he re-



prints entire the correspondence of Messrs. Dodge, Jones, and Butler, in which the latter denies that he ever "said anything which could authorize such a remark," with which he couples his disclaimer in the Senate of Friday, February 25, already given.

Mr. Grimes retorts with force—first, with the query, Why a disclaimer if he had said nothing which suggested or warranted such a conclusion from his words? Apparently his own friends had drawn such an inference. Hence his disclaimer. And second, he quotes the paragraph of his speech on Friday afternoon in which he first made reference to Iowa's possible preference of a population of slaveholders and their slaves over an inundation of those men coming as "emigrants from a foreign country totally unacquainted with the institutions of this country—and nearly all comers are of this class."

There was, and is, Mr. Grimes contends, just one conclusion. "The emigrants referred to are Germans." He takes pains to point out and emphasize that Senator Butler's "declaration was uttered in the United States Senate, *in the presence of the Iowa senators*," and moreover, it was duly reported in the *Globe* newspaper, the official reporter of the Senate, that "it has never been denied, questioned, or rebuked by those senators." In *fine*, he submits that the language of Senator Butler was stronger than his (Grimes's) Address had alleged.

Then follows the correspondence between Messrs. Dodge and Jones with Messrs. Toombs and Dawson in which the latter deny positively that they had ever asserted that within fifteen years, slavery would prevail in Iowa. Mr. Grimes repeats his first statement and counters by saying that he did not say that "a senator of Georgia" had made the declaration but that a "representative" of that state had so stated. "The opinion was expressed by the Hon. Alexander H. Stephens in the presence of and to the Hon. Charles Mason, commissioner of patents. It was publicly expressed, and I doubt not, conscientiously believed. The remark was repeated by Judge Mason to several citizens of Burlington." Thereupon follows a specific denial that he was or that he had recently been opposed to the organization of the territory of Nebraska as the *Union* had alleged. Mr. Grimes then delivers two body blows.

The *Union* attempts to excuse Messrs. Dodge and Jones for voting

for the bill with the anti-alien clause, because they knew it would be stricken out in the House. How did they know it? How could they know it? The only question for them to decide was, Is the bill just and right as it stands? Was it proper for them to vote for a bill containing a manifestly inequitable provision with the expectation that a co-ordinate branch of the government would correct their wrong? Is this the way senators would shirk the responsibility? Is a wrong to be justified in one man because another may possibly rectify that wrong?

The *Union* or the Iowa senators in the *Union* very softly attempt to change the responsibility of the Clayton amendment from Mr. Atchison and to fasten it entirely upon Mr. Clayton. Is it possible that they suppose that they can deceive any one in relation to the history of the amendment? Is it possible they imagine that the people of Iowa do not know who was the prime mover and principal advocate of this anti-alien restriction? Do they suppose that there is a German in the country who does not know that it originated with Mr. Atchison of Missouri, the President pro tem of the Senate? The amendment was drafted, as is well known, by Mr. Atchison, and was carried by slaveholders' votes in the Senate against non-slaveholding votes, and after it was incorporated in the bill was supported and endorsed by the Iowa senators, *but under the supposition, they say, that another body would strike it out.* As to Mr. Atchison's authorship of the Clayton amendment, the *Missouri Democrat* says:

"We have in type the speech of Mr. Atchison, pending the amendment of Mr. Clayton, which Mr. A. says he wrote out and gave to him to offer, excluding foreigners, who have declared their intention of becoming citizens and taken oath to support the Constitution of the United States, from voting or holding office in the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, and shall lay it before our readers next week, in order that the people may understand the motive which influenced Mr. A.'s course. He says in his remarks that he objects to foreigners moulding and forming the institutions of those territories. Hear him:

"The first legislature may decide the question of slavery forever in these territories (Nebraska and Kansas) and decide as to the right of the people of one half of the states of the Union to go there or not."

A correspondent of the *Missouri Republican*, a journal favorable to the Nebraska bill, thus speaks of Mr. Atchison's support of this amendment:

"Atchison addressed the Senate with great earnestness and ability on the same side of the question. He contended that the admission of unnaturalized foreigners to vote would overcome the voice of American settlers, and banish slavery before southern men could have a fair expression of the popular feeling on the subject. The first vote was of the greatest importance. It would decide the whole question. He wished that issue to be left to American citizens, and not to persons having no stake in the country. The amendment was adopted—yeas 22, nays 20.



The Address closes with an acknowledgment that he had changed his mind respecting the wisdom of electing judges, "the only true allegation" in the *Union's* attack, and he indulges in some strong comments adverse to the bench of that day that strongly resemble the present day comment upon the bench. A telling quotation from Colonel Benton's then recent speech on Kansas-Nebraska bill concludes his arraignment of the Senator from Iowa.

### VIII

A close scrutiny of the argument of Mr. Grimes's address to the people of Iowa in 1854, of the rejoinder and the counter argument of his rebuttal produces a split conclusion. The leader of the Opposition clearly had the advantage at the outset and he scored easily and heavily in defense, and, as the event demonstrated, won the goal he sought. His plea, however, was made on grounds that in part either misapprehended or misrepresented the assertion of the Senator from South Carolina that was the *causa causans* of the rencounter—in part upon a questionable citation of a remark made in a private conversation, and in part upon nonappreciation of the constitutional or legal premises on which the Kansas-Nebraska bill was founded in the pleas of its advocates.

In the rationale of citizenship and in the principles that guide statesmen in determining the conditions of political status, especially in conceding non-natives access thereto, the presumption, both in law and in ethics is always in favor of the native citizen and against the alien immigrant. Other things being equal our own citizens, resident and rooted in our soil and life, are to be preferred to outsiders unfamiliar with our institutions and perhaps ill adapted to or ill disposed towards our public policy and methods of government. Under the Constitution and the law antecedent thereto, and in sound ethics thereunder, slaveholders enjoyed complete equality with their non-slaveholding brethren of the North in such presumption. The fact that hideous barbarities were often incident to the institution of slavery did not abrogate, nor contract by a hair's breadth, this presumption of the law, although the canons of absolute ethics might declare the institution obnoxious. The owners of dumb brutes often mistreat them abominably, the possessors of wealth frequently put it to

unspeakable uses, but the fact when and however often it may be, in no wise disturbs the status or the rights, or the presumptions of the law in favor of the possessors of such property.

Stated in gross, no man in his right mind or in cool judgment would for a moment dispute the assertion that intelligent, educated, law-abiding, well-to-do natives are unqualifiedly preferable in our national life and polity to the vicious and vitiated classes, the criminals and paupers, the "riff-raff and offscourings" of the Old World. Nor does any sane man deny or doubt that with universal suffrage and easy access to the ballot box inundations of such classes, or of the ignorant, untutored and undisciplined of the lower strata of Europe, would soon place life and property, liberty and law, in jeopardy, and eventually overwhelm our institutions. On the other hand, few statesmen and fewer publicists dispute that a constant infusion of new blood from foreign lands, when the integrity of the stock is properly safeguarded, is desirable—nay necessary—in order to invigorate native stocks and counteract the normal deterioration that results from inbreeding, or from lack of competition with livelier stocks.

Such sentiments had been uttered in countless forums by innumerable statesmen before 1854 and they have been repeated in learned and popular phrase *ad infinitum* since that epoch-making year. In what Judge Butler said in the Senate on February 24, there was nothing at variance with them. His assertion was neither extravagant nor indefensible. He and nearly one half of the senators represented slaveholding constituencies (fifteen states had slavery and sixteen were free states). He and nearly all those senators owned slaves themselves, or were served by slaves in their own domestic establishments, whether living in their respective states or in the city of Washington. They, and the dominant classes of the South which they particularly represented, were men of culture and refinement, as well as of achievement in industry and the arts; indeed for the most part they were educated in northern colleges, notably at Harvard and Princeton. His remark, it should not be forgotten, was made in just resentment of the stinging criticisms of Chase and the insulting speech of Sumner. Furthermore, it was as a part of an irrefutable argument in which he said that Washington and



Greene and Captain Ingraham, the rescuer of Martin Koszta, would have to give precedence to the newly arrived alien in the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska, if the logic of Senator Chase was valid.

Moreover, Senator Butler in his original statement qualified it in such wise as to anticipate and bar most of the ensuing objections. He did not include, or rather he specifically excluded, the English and the Irish, because they had lived under the common law and were familiar with our institutions. Even with this exclusion his statement was further qualified; he referred only to those "totally unacquainted" with the institutions of this country. Thus limited, none could object to it. Controversy could arise only with the declaration following, to wit, "and nearly all continental comers are of this class." The language at first flush is sweeping and all-inclusive as to immigrants from the continent of Europe; but a second scrutiny discovers that he says "nearly all"—*not* all.

Further, Senator Butler did not compare or assimilate Germans to Negroes, bond or free. He spoke only of "the slaveholder with his slaves well-governed," precisely as one might refer to a householder with his family—children, servants, and live stock, well-governed. He referred to the slaveholder, and he was the person in comparison with the Germans—not Negroes with the Germans. Slaves were then mere chattels, just as horses were the chattels of the western pioneers.

Furthermore, Senator Butler in his initial statement did not particularize Germans by name, and there was no warrant for such a broad or particular inference that he himself had Germans in mind. It was either heedless or malevolent deduction from his statement. He said "emigrants from a foreign country" and "continental comers." Those descriptives neither imply nor suggest Germans, and it was a violent inference for any one so to assert. Bulgarians, Czechs, Danes, French, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Norwegians, Slavs, Spaniards, Swedes, indeed any and all nationalities no less than Germans were equally comprehended in Senator Butler's actual words. Only the fears of partisans or the unjust and selfish designs of partisan opponents could conceive of injecting "German" into or substituting in lieu of his actual words. Such substitution, unwarranted as it was, meant

that the party leaders, both in Washington and in Iowa, were keenly alive to the fact that the Germans held the strategic political centers in the campaign then progressing.

Senator Butler, as most men are wont to do, in the heat and rush of angry discussion, expressed himself in terms that swept wide and clear. In the fervor of flowing speech, and especially in an effort to counteract unjust aspersions on himself and his constituents which he properly resented, he used terms that comprehended more than he intended. He was thinking of continental immigrants in the mass. Particular peoples, or certain classes thereof, he would not decry because of their intelligence, industry, and integrity. As soon as friends called his attention to the adverse implications of his first utterance, he immediately took pains to guard himself against invidious criticism, and therefore added his supplemental statement that he did not mean to reflect upon the character of Germans hailing from such ports as Bremen. Ordinarily in normal private relationships his explanation would have sufficed to close the incident; but among partisans pressing towards a political goal and seizing upon any and all coignes of vantage, it did not suffice.

In the highly charged atmosphere of the day Senator Butler's "playful remark" acted as an electric spark that produced a lurid zigzag flash of light through the prosaic arguments for and against the repeal of the celebrated pact of 1820. In particular it seemed to signalize the antagonism between free and slave labor. Calhoun's "venerable and staid" colleague had, apparently, in the open Senate, deliberately placed Bohemians, Danes, Finlanders, Frenchmen, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Norwegians, Swedes, and Swiss, below the bound slaves of the South in intelligence and social character—at least no more desirable. His letter to Senator Dodge denying that he had ever said anything that warranted the interpretation put upon his original statement by Mr. Grimes, seemed upon superficial examination—the extent usually of partisan scrutiny—little else than the tergiversation of the pettifogger; and at best a "confession and avoidance," as lawyers would phrase it.

However intended "by way of episode," Judge Butler's initial remark was not, from any point of view, very flattering, or even tolerable to the *amour propre* of Germans, which traditionally is



intense and easily disturbed. Germans were, as we have seen, just then becoming very sensitive to adverse criticism. Nativistic prejudice was already running rampant in the North, and was a rapidly growing force in political discussion and decision in Iowa. The remark seemed to smack of that prejudice. Southern senators, with few exceptions, had steadily and systematically thwarted the hopes of Germans in the matter of European intervention and in liberal land legislation; Judge Butler's remark seemed but part and parcel of the slaveholder's prejudice against the Germans. Within two weeks this prejudice was incorporated into both the Kansas-Nebraska and the Homestead bills. Partisans naturally suspected concerted action, and in the heated state of the public mind it was difficult to overcome this presumption.

## IX

The condemnation of Senators Dodge and Jones for their votes on the Clayton amendment, or rather for the Douglas bill with that amendment attached, while natural by partisan opponents and "good politics," was not fair as the situation and the result proved. Those senators voted their real sentiments on the amendment when they voted "No" against its adoption. When it was adopted, nevertheless, they did what statesmen must ever and anon do when major matters, which they sanction, comprehend minor matters which they disapprove; they sought to accomplish what they conceived to be the major good, regretting the minor evil involved. At first glance Mr. Grimes would seem to have struck without possibility of a return in condemning them for voting for a provision, expecting or hoping that the obnoxious section would meet with a negative in the lower house. If senators cast their votes wholly as pawns in a game, merely as moves in partisan maneuvers, condemnation should, of course, ensue; but such is not necessarily the case. The exigencies antecedent to and collateral with legislation involve much strategy and endless and intricate tactics that exact generous presumptions of honest purpose to promote the public welfare. And Senators Dodge and Jones were entitled to these presumptions.

Again, Mr. Grimes, in attempting to shift the responsibility for the Clayton amendment affecting aliens from the Whigs to the Democrats, achieved a very doubtful point, if any. In as-

serting that Senator Atchison was the Mephistopheles, or Devil's advocate, operating behind the scenes to secure its passage, he placed a distinguished Whig in an unenviable position, of necessity assigning him to the class of statesmen known as puppets. Senator John M. Clayton was a man of character and reputation and high achievement. His distinguished career entitled him to protection against such a charge. Moreover, his views on the question of the privileges of aliens in our polity had been a matter of notoriety for some time.

The evidence which Mr. Grimes offers in proof of his charge, namely, his citations from the *Missouri Democrat* and the *Missouri Republican*, seems substantial *prima facie*. He might have cited in further proof similar evidence from the *Anzeiger des Westens* wherein the same charge was asserted and animadverted upon. Nevertheless, the charge is not thereby conclusively demonstrated. Senators Atchison and Clayton took notice, May 24, of the current rumors when the Kansas-Nebraska bill was on its final passage in the Senate, the Senator from Missouri bluntly and unqualifiedly and specifically denied the allegation; and the Senator from Delaware no less explicitly and emphatically denied the charge. The latter declared, "I never had any communication with him [Senator Atchison] in reference to the subject before I moved the amendment in the Senate, nor do I remember to have spent a moment in conversation about it while it was under consideration."

Curiosity will persist doubtless as to the warrant for the assertions of the *Democrat* and the *Republican* that their respective editors had seen, or were cognizant of a speech or proposition in writing, of Senator Atchison proposing such an amendment excluding aliens from the franchise in the new territories and declaring his purpose to introduce and secure the passage of such a provision. There is no necessary contradiction between their allegations, and the denials of collusion or conference made by Senators Atchison and Clayton in the Senate. The probabilities are that it was with the anti-alien clause, as it was with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise itself, with which he is nowadays charged with plotting and forcing, that he had such a measure in contemplation before he started to Washington before the opening of that session of Congress, that he conferred



with friends and party associates respecting the matter, exhibiting his arguments and proposals to them to ascertain to what extent they were satisfactory to them and advantageous to them in the pending struggle between him and ex-Senator Benton for supremacy in the politics of Missouri. That he did not proceed with the matter as planned when he reached Washington was probably the result of the rapid developments after he reached the city; it was not necessary for him to take the initiative; others were ready and willing and already active in promoting what he wanted. Any one familiar with the maneuvers of the lobbies and committee rooms of legislatures knows that such a conclusion does no violence to facts of common occurrence in the politics of legislative halls and precincts.

The critics of Mr. Grimes in *The Union*—be they Senators Dodge and Jones, or Attorney General Cushing, or the editors proper—had him on the hip in the matter of the established practice of Congress in providing for the franchise and conditions of officeholding in newly organized territories. Beginning with the organization of the Northwest Territory and with the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, Congress had confined the exercise of the franchise to citizens of the United States and, with the exception of Oregon, had not deviated from that policy up until the introduction of Douglas' bill, January 4, 1854. Under the Ordinance of 1787 and collateral acts providing for the government of the Northwest, an elector had to be a freeholder in possession of 50 acres and a resident for at least two years preceding, as well as a citizen of the United States; and in case of a representative he had to qualify with three years' residence and 200 acres of land. These provisions were applied to the territories of Indiana and Illinois. When Missouri was organized in 1812 the requirement was lessened slightly—electors had to be residents of the region at least one year, taxpayers non-delinquent and citizens of the United States. On the organization of Arkansas in 1819 the same provision was applied. In the act organizing Wisconsin in 1836, and in the act creating the territory of Iowa it was declared that the suffrage "shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States." The first exception in the case of Oregon was due to two facts: first, aliens were given the ballot who had declared their intention to become citizens as

an inducement to their emigration to that far off region; and second, as a reflex of the more liberal policy pursued with the foreign-born in the states of the Northwest and trans-Mississippi states, between 1840 and 1850. The liberal provisions in Douglas' first Nebraska bill likewise reflected this then widespread liberal attitude towards the foreign-born in the local legislation of the states of the middle west and an index of their enormous political influence at that time. It could not, however, be truthfully said that Oregon had established a liberal congressional policy towards aliens. Senator Clayton's amendment consequently did no violence to our national practice. The hue and cry raised against it by Mr. Grimes and the Antislavery champions of the North was not, therefore, provoked by any just cause of complaint, but primarily upon the fact that it seemed to signalize the success of nativistic propagandists who were then making exorbitant demands adverse to the interests of the foreign-born; and the latter held the ballot and could punish their adversaries and unhorse the party in power if they could be aroused to the proper pitch of resentment.

Mr. Grimes found himself almost if not wholly in the lurch by reason of his citation of a private remark current on the streets of Burlington when he said that a "distinguished representative from Georgia has announced that in fifteen years Iowa will be a slave state." The canons of public debate do not permit indiscriminate, and especially adverse, use of remarks made in the course of private conversation. Practiced lawyer that he was, he might have anticipated that his Address would produce sharp debate, hot retorts and blunt demands for the authority for his assertions. Further, his mode of statement involved every one of the congressional delegation from Georgia in both the Senate and the House of Representatives; if they resented the implication they would have a grievance, and if assailed therefor they would deny and berate the one so misrepresenting them. Moreover, if truly reported, its public use involved one of his fellow citizens and neighbors in Burlington to his detriment, as he (Mr. Grimes) would be compelled to display his source of information in self-defense. His fellow-townsmen was soon left in a sorry predicament.

One very interesting fact in Mr. Grimes's rejoinder to the



broadside of *The Union* is his utter omission of any comment or note upon the assertion that Senator Seward, while governor of the state of New York, had told Governor Smith of Virginia that he, Seward, would gladly swap the German and Irish emigrants that hovered in New York for the free Negroes of Virginia—a remark that reverberated long and loud in the career of Senator Seward. If the “playful remark” of Senator Butler, qualified and deodorized as it was by Senator Butler himself, was properly to influence the Germans of Iowa in determining how they should vote on governor, how much more influence should the alleged remark of Senator Seward exert in such determination!

Consideration of the substantial merits of Mr. Grimes’s argument save as they might involve the interests and inclinations of the Germans as aliens, ambitious to secure the status and the benefits of citizenship through naturalization, would take us farther afield than the limits of this paper permit. His contemporaries, partisans, and the public, so far as they speak via a majority of the voters, pronounced his argument solid and convincing. Historians, since his day, have recorded like opinions. A critical examination of the case for and against Douglas’ Kansas-Nebraska bill makes one hesitate to accept such conclusion as always fair or as final.

The pleas of the Pro-slavery men and the protests of the Anti-slavery leaders all comprehended matters that directly affected the welfare of Germans.

## X

In the way of a counter blast to Mr. Grimes’s second “Address to the People of Iowa,” Congressman Bernhardt Henn forwarded to the papers of Dubuque and Burlington copies of the responses of the eight representatives of Georgia to his inquiry of April 26 in which, after quoting Mr. Grimes’s first address and the alleged quotation of “a distinguished representative of Georgia,” he asked, “I desire to know whether either of you ever so expressed yourself, or in any other way whereby such an inference might be drawn from your language as would convey the idea attributed to one of your number by Mr. Grimes.” Mr. Alexander H. Stephens writing for himself and two colleagues replied on the same date in part as follows:

\* \* \* we have only to say that we are utterly at a loss upon what

grounds Mr. Grimes could have founded the assertion made in the extract of his Address to which you have called our attention. No such idea certainly was ever advanced, or any one from which such inference could be drawn, in any speech made by either of us. We can but regard the statement therefore as part of that general system of wholesale misrepresentation which so many of the enemies of the equal, just and republican principles of the Nebraska and Kansas bills have resorted to for the purpose of misleading the minds of the northern peoples upon them—that indeed must be a weak as well as a bad cause which has to be sustained and bolstered up by such unfair and iniquitous means.<sup>17</sup>

The critical observer will have noted that Mr. Stephens refers in his denial only to “speeches” and thus technically may have shielded himself against an admission. In view of Mr. Stephens’ high reputation and the specific and comprehensive interrogatory of Mr. Henn that included private as well as public remarks, it is difficult to believe that Mr. Stephens would thus hedge or dodge. Nevertheless, Mr. Howell abruptly and instantly charged him with “falsehood” and “cowardly chicanery and shuffling deceit.”

In his speech in Keokuk on the night of July 5 Mr. Grimes apparently clinched his case by reading a letter from Judge Mason reaffirming the truth of his original assertion that he heard Mr. Stephens make such a prediction concerning Iowa. In view of the bitterness engendered one wonders why Judge Mason’s letter was not published in the press, if it was read from the stump by Mr. Grimes.

Despite the reported letter of Judge Mason, the question of the reliability of the report and the veracity of Mr. Stephens was merely pushed away from Mr. Grimes. Mr. Howell’s charge did not necessarily follow. Southerners as a rule seldom lacked the courage to back up their convictions. His alleged remark, if made at all, might have been made months or even years previously and have been forgotten. Or it might easily have been a hypothetical observation, made upon a contingent event.

Mr. Wm. B. W. Dent in his reply, although he must have realized that Mr. Henn wanted a response that would aid his party friends in Iowa and enable them to hold the favor of the German voters, could not resist shying a rock at the Opposition that struck Germans. He said, “The friends of the late bill for

<sup>17</sup>Dubuque *Miner’s Daily Express* June 12, 1854.



the organization of the territories of Nebraska and Kansas in the free states, will be persecuted and misrepresented by that heterogeneous mass, who burn honorable senators in effigy and preach abolition sermons on the Sabbath day." The reference included and perhaps intended the sensational episode in the Public Square at Chicago on the night of March 16 when the Germans of that city burned Senator Douglas in effigy.<sup>18</sup>

## XI

After the foregoing section was written, the writer came upon the following letter from Congressman Stephens, dated at Washington, July 28, addressed to Congressman Henn. The letter apparently was delayed in transmission or misdirected or miscar-

<sup>18</sup>The writer has described at some length the incidents connected with the burning of Senator Douglas in effigy in Chicago in an article entitled "The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854." See *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, ... Jahrgang 1912 (Vol. XII), pp. 381-404.

Mr. Dent's letter is worth reproduction and is given at length:

House of Representatives,  
Washington, May 31, 1854

Sir: Yours of the 26th ultimo addressed to my colleagues and myself did not meet my eye until this day, owing to my absence at home where I have been confined on account of ill health. You give me a quotation from an address recently made by James W. Grimes, Esq., one of the candidates for governor in the state of Iowa, to the people of that state as follows: "A distinguished representative from Georgia has announced that in fifteen years Iowa will be a slave state." You ask me if I ever so expressed myself, or in any way whereby such an inference might be drawn from my language as the idea attributed to one of the Georgia representatives by Mr. Grimes. I take great pleasure in stating, that I have never made any such announcement as the one attributed to a Georgia representative by Mr. Grimes's address, nor have I ever used such language as could be distorted in the remotest possible degree by inference or implication to any such meaning. So far as I am concerned I pronounce the statement an unmitigated falsehood. I have not heard any of my colleagues use such language, or any language whereby such an inference might be drawn, nor do I believe they have done so. It has been a pleasure to me to speak of the democracy of Iowa in laudatory terms, as I have regarded them as sound in the faith. Those by whom the Democratic party have been represented in both branches of our national legislature, so far as the state of Iowa is concerned, have made up a record that is a monument of honor to themselves and the noble constituency who selected them. That record tried by the true standard (the Constitution) will never make them or their true friends blush.

The people of Georgia will not trouble themselves about regulating the domestic institutions of other states. The Democratic party of Georgia honor and respect their political brethren in your noble young state.

The friends of the late bill for the organization of the territories of Nebraska and Kansas in the free states will be persecuted and misrepresented by that heterogeneous mass who burn honorable senators in effigy and preach abolition sermons on the Sabbath day. They and their co-workers of all shades and colors, enemies to the Democratic party, will no doubt make a grand rally to defeat the true men in Iowa and other states in the approaching elections. I trust the result will show that those who have heretofore stood by the pillars of the Constitution remain as firm to their principles as the "surge repelling rock," and when the day of trial comes will rebuke this piebald party by giving them a real Waterloo defeat at the ballot box. Such a result will be hailed, by the great Republican family who revere the Constitution that binds us together as a family of independent sovereign states, with joy and gladness and by none more than the democracy in the Empire State of the South, including

Your humble servant,

W. B. W. DENT.

Hon. Bernhart Henn, House of Representatives,

ried, for it was not given out at Fairfield, Iowa, until September 13. It did not effect the immediate purpose for which Congressman Henn wrote Mr. Stephens, but he gave it out, nevertheless, it appearing in the columns of *The Fairfield Sentinel*. The letter is so frankly put, and the considerations so acutely and completely stated, that it is given entire. In view of the use made of the original charge by Mr. Grimes, it is but simple justice to reproduce the letter on this ground alone—but it will be agreed that the letter is worth perusal on its own merits for many other reasons.

Fairfield, Sept. 13, '54

Mr. Sheward:

Dear Sir: In justice to the Hon. A. H. Stephens and myself—both of us having been misrepresented by certain Abolition newspapers and by the Abolition candidate for governor—I desire you to publish the enclosed letter.

Yours truly,

B. Henn.

Washington, D. C., 28th July, '54

Dear Sir: I am obliged to you for calling my attention to an article in the *Iowa Observer* [of Dubuque] of the 15th of June, commenting upon my reply to your note of inquiry of the 26th of April, touching the correctness of a statement made by Mr. James W. Grimes in an address to the people of Iowa; and also to an article in the *Ledger* published at Fairfield on the same subject. It is a matter of regret to me that these articles, owing to my absence from Washington City on a visit to Georgia, were not brought to my attention earlier; but even late as it now is, I deem it proper that I should not let them pass without notice. The writers of both these articles affect to treat my answer to your inquiry of April as evasive on my part, and not fully meeting the statement of Mr. Grimes to which your note referred. Now I wish briefly to say to you, and to all whom it may concern, that no evasion was intended by me. My answer was intended to be full, positive and explicit, and was so considered by me at the time.

The allegation of Mr. Grimes was that "a distinguished representative from Georgia has announced that in fifteen years Iowa will be a slave state." To this I said on the part of myself and colleagues of the House, who joined me in the reply, "We are utterly at a loss to imagine upon what ground Mr. Grimes could have founded the assertion made in the extract from his address to which you have called our attention \* \* \* No such idea certainly was ever advanced, or any one from which such an inference could be drawn in any speech made by either of us. We can but regard the statement, therefore, as part of the general system of misrepresentation which so many of the enemies



of the equal, just and republican principles of the Nebraska and Kansas bill have resorted to for the purpose of misleading the minds of the people of the northern states upon them."

The allegation was that an announcement had been made by some Georgia representatives; no name was mentioned, nor any particulars given. Upon inquiry from us whether the statement was true, myself and colleagues answered in language which I deemed distinctly emphatic and quite pointed enough, that no such announcement had ever been made by either of us. How we, or either of us, could have been considered as having made an "announcement" of such a proposition in any way less formal than in a speech, did not occur to me at any time, and may now be left for Mr. Grimes to explain and the public to determine.

But the writer in the *Observer* says:

"Mr. Grimes does not accuse him (Mr. Stephens) of making the assertion in a speech—it was in a private conversation with Judge Mason; yet Mr. Stephens wished to quibble out of it in this way, etc., etc., etc."

Now, in reply to this I wish to say that the allegation of Mr. Grimes to which I was replying was not that which the writer states. It made no references to me, personally, at all. It made no allusion that [it] had been said "in a private conversation" by any of the Georgia representatives, with Judge Mason, or anybody else. It simply asserted that an announcement had been made, etc. This "private conversation" version of the matter seems to have been an afterthought. Whether this is a quibble or not I will not say, but it is certainly a modification of the first statement. It is in Mr. Grimes's second address which you have handed me that I see this turn is given to the matter. And to this qualification of the "charge" I have but a word or two to say. Mr. Grimes gives no statement from Judge Mason. The writer in the *Ledger* assumes that Mr. Grimes has shifted the onus of any issues that may arise from his own shoulders to those of Judge Mason. He also assures that as between Judge Mason and myself the people of Iowa will have little difficulty in determining. They know him, says he, to be an "honorable man"; they know me "to be one of the most rabid nullifiers of the South, who on all occasions has delighted in insulting the freemen of the North."

I shall say nothing in disparagement of the "honor" or integrity of Judge Mason: my acquaintance with that gentleman is limited. The people of Iowa doubtless know him much better than I do, and a great deal better, I am well aware, than they know me; but this I will say, from my acquaintance with him, limited as it is, I cannot allow myself to believe that he ever authorized Mr. Grimes to make the allegation which he did; and until I have some evidence to the contrary, therefore, I shall forbear all further remarks upon that point. This, however, I will say, in most emphatical and unequivocal terms, that if Judge Mason, or anybody else heard me say in conversation, either private or public, at the dinner table or elsewhere, anything from which he even



ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS

Representative of Georgia in U. S. House of Representatives 1843-61 and 1874-82; Vice President of the Confederate States 1861-65.

From a photograph presented to Charles Aldrich by Mr. Stephens in 1868.

drew the inference that I entertained the opinion, or intended to announce it as my opinion, that Iowa would be a slave state in fifteen years, or even at any time, he or any other such person was entirely mistaken in drawing any such inference. I never entertained such an opinion and never intended by anything that I ever said to anybody to convey the idea or to make the impression that I did. With the domestic affairs of Iowa I have no concern, and take no interest further than to indulge the desire to see that young state advance in power and prosperity with her older sisters of a common Republic. The statement in the *Ledger* that I am known "to be one of the most rabid nullifiers of the South, who on all occasions has delighted in insulting the freemen of the North" is altogether gratuitous, ungenerous, and unjust. And if it is in this character that I am to the people of Iowa, it is only because I have been sadly misrepresented to them, or rather it is because I am not known to them at all. And though this writer speaks of me as one who delights to insult the people of the North on all occasions, yet I think it would be a difficult matter for him to make good his accusation by showing a single instance in which I have ever indulged in this favorite propensity, whatever may have been my politics, or the errors of the nullifiers, it is well known by those who know me that I have never been subject to the charge of being attached to their sect, or of being a believer in their doctrines. Whoever accuses me of sectional hostility to any portion of this Union, does injustice to himself as well as a great wrong to me. These are feelings I have never indulged in. If an unkind word toward the people of the North generally ever escaped me, I am not aware of it. That I have felt it my duty to denounce a certain class of men in the North is true; but it is only that class who have arrayed themselves in sectional hostility against the South and her institutions, in violation of the Constitution of our common country. I have been and am willing for the people of the North to take care of their own rights and interests and manage their own internal affairs as they please, and I claim nothing more for the South. It was with these views and opinions I voted for the admission of Iowa as a state, notwithstanding by her constitution slavery was excluded from her limits. That was her business, not mine. I had no disposition to interfere with her institutions then, I have just as little now.

Yours most respectfully,

Alexander H. Stephens.

Hon. Bernhart Henn,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

The present writer submits that it is very curious that Judge Mason's letter to Mr. Grimes, reported to have been read or referred to by Mr. Grimes in his speech at Keokuk, July 5, was not given out to the Opposition press and given the extensive



circulation accorded Mr. Grimes's original allegation and the correspondence of the Georgian congressional delegation.

The incident illustrates again the aggressions and injustice of so much partisan political discussion. The rules of fair dealing among men are constantly infringed and often grossly violated and the victims are helpless and unable to recover. Senator Dodge and his associates in Congress suffered unjustly, and Mr. Grimes obtained improperly an ill-gotten benefit.

## XII

The foregoing narrative, save the next preceding section, XI, was written in 1911-12. Section XI was added as a footnote in the galley proofs in the course of printing in 1917-18.

Last year (1925) the Historical Department of Iowa received the correspondence of Judge Charles Mason. The present writer, as soon as he learned of the fact, asked permission to examine the items for the year 1854 to see if perchance the foregoing queries could be answered. He discovered the original letters of Mr. Grimes to Judge Mason, and a copy of Judge Mason's reply. Judge Mason at the time was commissioner of patents and resident in Washington, D. C. The letters are reproduced entire. The criticisms penned nine and fourteen years ago by the present writer were clearly anticipated by Mr. Grimes.

### JAMES W. GRIMES TO JUDGE CHARLES MASON

Burlington, Iowa 15th May 1854

My dear Sir:

You have doubtless seen the *Washington Union* of the 29th April last containing a three column editorial attack upon me. I am very well aware of the source from which the attack emanated &<sup>19</sup> intend to repel the assault according to the best of my feeble power.

I am told that Hon. Alex. H. Stephens Rep. in Congress from Georgia, stated in your presence, an[d] predicted before you that in fifteen years Iowa would be a slave state. Is it so? I have it from two gentlemen who I understand heard you say that you heard the declaration made. I intend to reply to the article and shall upon the authority of what I have been told by Col. Warren<sup>20</sup> & Dr. Walker<sup>21</sup> give the name of Mr. Stephens. My own impression is that certain gentlemen are in a worse predicament than they think I am in. If Mr. Stephens did not say what I understand he did, telegraph me immediately the

<sup>19</sup>In these letters of both Grimes and Mason we follow their style of abbreviations, capitalizations, punctuations, etc.

<sup>20</sup>Col. Fitz Henry Warren of Burlington.

<sup>21</sup>Dr. J. C. Walker of Fort Madison.

words "He did not say so." If he did say so, telegraph me the words "He did say so." If you can give me the names of any persons in whose presence he said it, I will be greatly please[d], & if you can give them, telegraph them.

Will you oblige me by answering by telegraph immediately.

I knew nothing of the *Union* article until I reached here this morning.<sup>21a</sup>

Your friend, truly, .

James W. Grimes.

JAMES W. GRIMES TO JUDGE CHARLES MASON

Burlington 24th May 1854

My dear Sir:

I wrote you some ten days ago and hoped to receive an answer before this time, but have been disappointed. The Senators from Iowa wrote a note to the Georgia Senators for the purpose of disproving that a "representative from Georgia had said that Iowa would be a slave state in fifteen [years]" & received an answer published in the *Union* of the 29th of April in which they say that they never uttered such a sentiment & that they do not believe any Geo. representative ever did. The *Union* also takes occasion to say that the members of the House from Geo. deny & denounce the statement of Mr. Grimes.

I would never have alluded to the members from Geo. had I supposed that the Iowa Senators would be fools enough to take any notice of my address, because I would not have given them the opportunity to drag in anything but a record fact. They however have taken the responsibility more to their injury than to my own *I think* to make up an issue of veracity with me and many others on the foregoing fact. I was left without any evidence to sustain me unless I used your name in that connection. I never had any conversation with you on the subject, but W. W. White,<sup>22</sup> Dr. Walker & Col. Warren all told me that A. H. Stephens of Georgia had made the declaration to you and I did not understand that it was in any degree private or confidential. I disliked very much to use your name at all & would not have done so until I had heard from you in reply to my letter had I not been compelled to leave Burlington tomorrow & only be at home one day from this until after the election.

If the use of your name is used by any one to your injury, or if an attempt of the kind is made, I want to know & I think I can do as much good as certain parties can of harm. I am very truly your friend,

James W. Grimes.

<sup>21a</sup>There is a serious discrepancy between Mr. Grimes's statement above and the assertion of the *Fairfield Ledger* of June 8, 1854. Commenting upon Mr. Grimes's speech in Fairfield the editor states that Mr. Grimes declared in his speech that he had not intended to make a personal canvass in Iowa until he saw, while in New Hampshire, the broadside of the *Washington Union* of April 29, 1854.

<sup>22</sup>W. W. White of Keokuk (?).

JUDGE CHARLES MASON TO MR. JAMES W. GRIMES

Washington, May 22/54

Dear Sir:

I have just received yours of the 15th and have just telegraphed you as you desired but referring you to my letter for explanations.

According to my best recollections Mr. Stephens did not use the precise words mentioned in your letter though I think his language was in substance not widely different.

We were boarding at the same house about the time the Nebraska question was first started & it was the theme of frequent discussion. I expressed the opinion that the repeal of the Missouri compromise would be unnecessarily agitating a question that had once been put to rest & prove highly prejudicial to all sections of the country, & especially to the South—that the compromise of 1850 was as far as I believed the northern people could be expected to acquiesce in congressional action on this subject—that the repeal of the Missouri compromise would destroy confidence in compromises & I believed it unwise to disturb the quiet into which the country seemed now to be settling down.

He wholly disagreed with me & expressed the opinion that agitation & discussion would result to the advantage of the South & that the north would soon acquiesce in the repeal of the Missouri compromise.

In the course of these discussions I feel quite certain that he expressed the opinion that the discussions on the subject were gradually opening the eyes of the country to the benefits of the institution of slavery & that eventually we in Iowa should change our constitution so as to legalize it in our state. I do not think he fixed the time within which this change was to take place, but I do not remember the precise language used.

I recollect that the next day (or shortly after) such language had been used by him some one from Iowa (I think it was Dr. Walker from Fort Madison) was in my office to whom I mentioned the matter.

I have just called on Mr. Stephens. He recollects the conversation above stated except that he thinks he made no prediction that Iowa would ever be a slave state. Men in conversation at a dinner table frequently say things which are not seriously meant. Such might have been the case with Mr. Stephens, though I thought him serious.

If you can get along without bringing me before the public in connection with this matter I hope you will do so, for the reason principally that this is a statement of what took place at a dinner table & I would rather not appear as the public retailer of such statements. Especially as my recollections are different from those of Mr. Stephens.

At the time I stated to Dr. Walker in my office what had thus occurred it did not occur to me that I was violating any rule of propriety; I regarded the mere expression of such an opinion of Mr. Stephens as indicative that he was little acquainted with the disposition & feelings of our people & I repeated it as a curiosity—an extravagance entertained by a distinguished Southern legislator.



Considered as a piece of private information which was never expected to go farther, it will not I hope be considered reprehensible; but the case may be different when the matter shall get into the public prints in the heat of an excited political controversy.

I have thus stated to you the facts of this case as correctly as I remember them. I cannot expect to dictate to you the course you will pursue in relation to it but I hope to be brought into no unnecessary notoriety in connection with it.

Yours very truly "

Chas. Mason

James W. Grimes Esq

PS. I never saw the article in the *Union* to which you refer.

MR. JAMES W. GRIMES TO JUDGE CHARLES MASON

Fairfield 31st May 1854

My dear Sir

Yours of the 22d inst. have been forwarded to me at this place. You do not regret my allusion to the imputed remark of Mr. Stephens any more than I do. I did not for a moment anticipate any of the results that seem to have followed from it. I see from yesterday's *Gazette* that has just come up here that Dodge & Jones will not obtain a certificate from Mr. Stephens to the effect that he never made any declaration of the kind. If they do I shall take no notice of it, but let the matter drop, although I shall be compelled to rest under the imputation of having stated a falsehood.

I am very truly, in haste, your friend,

James W. Grimes

Hon. Charles Mason,

Washington City, D. C.

MR. JAMES W. GRIMES TO JUDGE CHARLES MASON

Burlington 21st Oct. 1854

My dear Sir

Your favour enclosing a former one has been recvd. I need not tell you that I feel "confounded mean" for having drawn you into this controversy at all. I ought not to have alluded to Stephen's remark at all & should not have done so had I known under what circumstances it was uttered. Besides I had no idea that anybody would take the trouble to procure letters from the senators & representatives from Geo.[rgia] to disprove what I said in so general a statement.

They are now abusing me in the papers and charging that the whole letter is a forgery—that you never wrote any thing of the kind to me and that I have been guilty of concocting the whole thing. Their object is to force me to publish your letter in vindication of my reputation for veracity and then the onslaught will be directed upon you. They will not succeed. I can now afford to let them hack at me.

The whole Dodge force in the Legislature will be directed 1st to stave off an election 2d to endorse, [A. C.] Dodge—& 3d to elect [M. D.]

Browning to the Senate in his place. But their efforts will be fruitless. We have no longer any political parties in this country. Every man fights on his own hook & makes his own political gods out of just such materials as he chooses.

I hope you will not resign. I have no right to advise you & you may deem me impertinent in doing so. But I will do it nevertheless. You enjoy a reputation all over the country that has never been enjoyed by any of your predecessors. The Colt & other cases have satisfied the country that you can't be bought and every body seems to be pleased with the correctness & dispatch with which the business of your bureau is transacted. The position is honourable,—you can do the country good service & such as I apprehend no other man can render, where you are; and you will return to Iowa at the end of the present administration with much greater power and influence, than if returned now. Such is my opinion, at least. Excuse me for talking so frankly about what does not concern me individually and about which any that I might say may be deemed rank impudence

I think the recent elections must satisfy Mr [Alex. H.] Stephens & the President that you was almost right in regard to the people of the north acquiescing in the appeal of the Missouri compromise

I am very truly

Your friend

James W. Grimes

Mr. Grimes is not the only public man who has too hastily given out or publicly reported the sayings of others delivered in private conversations to his discomfiture. Mr. Stephen's letter given in the preceding section explodes most of Mr. Grimes's assumptions.

There is no general or special reason for question as to the accuracy or sincerity of the assertions of either Judge Mason or Mr. Stephens. The alleged observation about Iowa might easily have been made in the flare and fling of partisan discussion around the common table of their boarding place in Washington. The furious debates in the Senate and House split the air everywhere—in the lobbies and lounging rooms and wherever men came together. Mr. Stephens and his confreres in the give and take of tabletalk naturally echoed or reiterated the contentions of the House and Senate. The alleged observation, if made, either substantially or approximately, was probably uttered in mere facetious byplay or counterplay in the rough and tumble of contention with no serious import on the part of the one so expressing himself. The predominance of southerners, or of those of southern ancestors and affiliations in the population of Iowa was

known—in fact was notorious. It was soon after the utterance of the alleged observation here in question that John G. Whittier, the militant Quaker poet, said in *The National Era* of July 27, 1854:

Iowa—the near neighbor of Kansas—is another of the free slave states. From the hour of its admission to the present, its influence and its votes have been given in favor of slavery. Augustus Caesar Dodge's vote has always been as certain for any villainous scheme of slavery propagandism as those of Butler and Atchison \* \* \* but there is no disguising the fact that Iowa is now, and has been from the outset, so far as her action in the Confederacy is concerned, to all intents and purposes, a slave state.

In the way of sharp twist and sudden thrust, the alleged observation of Mr. Stephens might have been made to checkmate some contention of the ardent opponents of the "Repeal" without any notion that it would be taken as a settled conviction. All accounts of the character and conduct of Alexander H. Stephens show us a man whose earnestness and sincerity were conspicuous and controlling. A man who could attract and hold in admiration and affection such men as John Quincy Adams and Abraham Lincoln was not one to dodge or hedge or get behind the shadow of a technical evasion in repelling the assertion of Mr. Grimes.<sup>23</sup>

### XIII

The general course of the campaign in Iowa in 1854 and the particular part taken by Mr. Grimes would be worth more detailed consideration because of its relations to the controversy

<sup>23</sup>See Sandberg's "Abraham Lincoln," Vol. I, pp. 376-378. The marked friendship of Adams and Lincoln with Stephens is strikingly suggested in the following which are taken from Mr. Sandberg's narrative. Four years before his death John Quincy Adams penned some verses addressed "To Alexander H. Stephens, Esq., of Georgia," two stanzas reading:

We meet as strangers in this hall,  
But when our task of duty's done,  
We blend the common good of all  
And melt the multitude in one.

As strangers in this hall we met;  
But now with one united heart,  
Whate'er of life awaits us yet,  
In cordial friendship let us part.

Immediately following Mr. Stephens' speech in the House of Representatives on February 2, 1848, Mr. Lincoln wrote his law partner, William H. Herndon: " \* \* \* Mr. Stephens, a little, slim, pale-faced consumptive man \* \* \* has just concluded the best speech, of an hour's length, I ever heard. My old withered eyes are full of tears yet."

Neither Mr. Adams nor Mr. Lincoln was given to lachrymose or mushy sentimentalism anent public men or measures, and neither was easily deluded or "fooled" in reading the characters or interpreting the conduct of their associates in public life.



just dealt with—Senator Butler's "playful remark" continued to serve as a football<sup>24</sup>—but the story is complicated and was concluded on August 7. The election gave Mr. Grimes a majority. But it was close margin which gave him his victory. His majority was only 2,110. Had 1,056 voters changed their minds he would have suffered defeat. His congressional running-mate in the southern half of the state was defeated. His victory was pre-eminently a personal one. But it was due in major part to the overconfidence of the Administration leaders who remained in Washington and let Mr. Grimes take the field in their default.

The general conclusions which a close study of the crucial campaign of 1854 seem clearly to justify are briefly summed up in what follows:

On January 1, 1854, the Democrats of Iowa, and the Democrats in the nation at large, had many reasons to anticipate the continuance of their party in control of the administration of the affairs of Iowa. Their confidence was generally conceded to be warranted by the public. There was considerable rancorous internal discontent in the Democratic party but not such as to create any dangerous dissension or desertions. All general signs on the horizon were favorable to their supremacy which they had enjoyed since 1838.

The Whigs had been almost completely routed and utterly demoralized by the presidential campaign of 1852. In the first days of 1854 it hardly possessed sufficient energy as a party organization to arouse its membership to serious purpose, concentration and concert of action.

The other elements of the Opposition consisted of a miscellaneous collection of more or less repellant particles—Abolition-

<sup>24</sup>It is not inappropriate here to note that Senator Butler's "playful remark" had another exciting chapter and effectually served the Republicans again in precisely the same fashion that it did in 1854. Five years later, at the crisis of the crucial gubernatorial campaign in Iowa in 1859, a few days before the election, *The Hawkens* of Burlington delivered a broadside on September 28, 1859, against General A. C. Dodge, then the Democratic candidate for governor in his contest against Samuel J. Kirkwood, the Republican candidate. It was delivered under the innocent-looking caption "A Word With the Germans." It reprinted Senator Butler's declaration in 1854 that the slaveholder and his slaves would be preferred by Iowans to "an inundation" of foreigners; and also his letter to General Dodge of April 25, 1854, explaining his meaning. Mr. Clark Dunham, then editor of *The Hawkens*, commented upon the episode in a ruthless fashion. The broadside was the last round of the appeals to the Germans of the Republicans in that campaign. It had the same effect in 1859 that it had in 1854. Kirkwood won by a narrow majority of only 2,963 votes, a narrower ratio of the total vote than Grimes secured in 1854. The writer has dealt with that campaign at length in a study entitled "The Germans in Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859," printed in the Year-Book of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois for 1915. (See especially Sections XXIII-XXIX.)

ists, Communists, Free-soilers, Democrats, Labor leaders, Land Reformers, Socialists, Temperance propagandists and various sorts of philanthropists and philosophical radicals who generally find it difficult to amalgamate or to co-operate, save when constrained by some overwhelming, compelling consideration, such as an impending, indisputable menace to their personal and the public welfare. And there was no such central controlling fact, or menace, on January 1, 1854.

Although there was smouldering discontent anent the slavery question, especially with the barbarities incident to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, the public seemed to be in the main content with the adjustment arranged and authorized by the Clay Compromises of 1850.

The introduction of Senator Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska bill in the national Senate in January, 1854, and the inclusion therein of Senator Dixon's amendment repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820 confining slavery below the line of 36° 30', was a bolt out of a clear sky. It shocked the entire North and electrified the various elements of the Opposition and suddenly brought them together in a common consciousness of furious antagonism to the program of the Proslavery propagandists.

Among the elements of the Opposition not the least energetic and potent were the then recent revolutionary refugees from Continental Europe, who had attempted unsuccessfully to overthrow the established monarchical governments that grievously oppressed their peoples—especially Austrians, Bohemians, French, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, and Slavs—all of whom abominated all forms and procedure of human oppression incident to the administration of any form of autocratic government. In the decades of the first half of the past century the foreign immigrants had largely affiliated with and supported the Democratic party, as their leaders and party programs were for the most part uniformly favorable to considerate, not to say lenient, treatment of the foreign-born in the distribution of public benefits.

The ruthless revival and promotion of the Proslavery propaganda by Senator Douglas startled the liberty-loving foreign-born, especially Germans. They became fearful and soon convinced that the extension of the area of slavery would ultimately,

if not immediately, lead to a curtailment of their opportunities in this new land of freedom, and eventually would obliterate their newly acquired and dearly prized liberties. The bitter clash of the Antislavery leaders—Messrs. Chase, Fessenden, Hamlin, Seward, Sumner, and Wade—with the Proslavery champions—Messrs. Adams, Badger, Butler, Brown, Dixon, Hunter, Mason, and Thompson—disclosed a clear-cut antagonism towards legislation favorable to the foreign-born among the dominant leaders of the southern Democratic and Whig leaders.

This antagonism of the Proslavery leaders of the South towards favorable treatment of the foreign-born manifested itself in various directions. The southerners generally were adverse towards the efforts of the friends of European freedom, and especially those seeking to overthrow some of the arbitrary, autocratic monarchies and establish free republics in their stead, opposing some of their propaganda in this country, as in the case of Louis Kossuth, and Professor Gottfried Kinkel's efforts to raise a large loan to finance the attempt to establish a republic in Germany. The southern leaders almost uniformly opposed, effectually opposed, the passage of the bill authorizing free homesteads and land entries. They further refused to support provisions therein permitting aliens to make entries for homesteads, restricting the benefits entirely to natives and naturalized citizens. The foreign-born, and Germans in particular, were especially anxious to secure such beneficial legislation.

The diplomatic courtesies and privileges accorded by President Pierce to Cardinal Bedini, a legate or nuncio of the Pope to this country, an Austrian prelate, intimately associated with the Austrian general in charge of the siege and capture of Bologna when an attempt at revolution was thwarted in 1848, caused the bitter memories of the "Forty-eighters" and their successors to blaze out in riotous proceedings and alienated many from the Democratic standards.

The methods of the South in the apprehension of fugitive slaves, under the notorious act of the Clay Compromise, also re-animated the memories of European refugees of the methods of the henchmen of monarchical governments in the arrest and seizure of refugees, or those who had incurred the ill will of autocratic governments in the Old World—and this fact aroused



animosity and alienated foreign-born republicans from the Democratic party on this side of the Atlantic.

The popular amazement and indignation over Senator Douglas' proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise restricting the northern boundaries of slavery so energized the various opponents of the national Democratic administration that the Whigs of Iowa assembled in convention at Iowa City on February 22, 1854, and nominated a state ticket, choosing James W. Grimes as their candidate for governor. The various groups of the Opposition, Free-soilers, and advocates of temperance workers readily and soon joined forces with the Whigs. Discontent, inertia, and revolt among the Whigs, however, did not create the most favorable anticipations of a victory for the Opposition.

The speech of Senator A. P. Butler of South Carolina in the national Senate on February 24 in rejoinder to the attacks of Senators Chase, Sumner, and Wade, in which the Senator from South Carolina asserted that the people of Iowa would prefer a population made up of southern slave owners and their slaves to a flood of European immigrants, became a major point of attack in Mr. Grimes's Address to the people of Iowa in the opening of his campaign for governor.

Contrary to academic opinion the "Americanistic" propaganda which was then taking form in secret societies called Know-nothings, began to affect public discussion in the fore part of 1854, and as the major number engaged therein were either Whigs or radicals in political and social reforms, the fact tended to alienate the foreign-born voters from Opposition forces.

Agitation for the enactment of drastic legislation restricting, and usually entirely prohibiting, the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, was then rapidly approaching culmination, and this propaganda was carried on chiefly by either Whigs or those radicals who had been more associated with the Opposition, and this fact likewise tended to make the foreign-born regard the Opposition with disfavor.

In their party platforms both Democrats and Opposition declared in favor of free homesteads. The Democrats were silent on the temperance question and the Opposition declared in favor of total prohibition of traffic in alcoholic stimulants. Both candidates for governor, Messrs. Bates and Grimes, took substantially

the same position with respect to their future official relations to a prohibitory enactment by the legislature.

In his canvass Mr. Grimes dwelt upon three questions: (1) the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, (2) the temperance or prohibition question, and (3) the hostility, or alleged antagonism, of the Democratic party towards the foreign-born, particularizing Senator Butler's speech and the course of the southern Slavocrats in opposition to the Homestead bill. The Opposition press in the main pursued the same course. Emphasis upon the interests of the foreign-born—and particularly the Germans—in the controversy involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the propaganda of the Proslavery leader, were earnest, constant, and systematic, and in many respects seemed to be the major objective of party tactics. The Democrats, no less than the Opposition, put forth special efforts to attract, or to hold, the German voters.

Contrary to general expectation the Opposition in Iowa in 1854 won almost a complete victory: Mr. Grimes won the governorship by a majority of 2,110 votes; they captured the state legislature on joint session by a majority of ten votes, thus insuring control of the senatorial succession at Washington; they almost prevailed in the First or southern Congressional District, and prevailed in the Second or northern District.

Although the Opposition won clearly and almost achieved a sweeping victory, a close scrutiny of the election returns discloses that Mr. Grimes's victory rested upon a very narrow margin—so narrow indeed that one is led to suspect that it was due chiefly to the fact that the national leaders of the Democratic party suffered from overconfidence, and did not come out from Washington and engage personally in the pre-election campaign in Iowa.

Analysis of the returns further seems to warrant the conclusion that the appeals of the Opposition to the foreign-born voters and the pronounced discontent of the Germans with the course of the Democratic party on matters affecting their status and welfare, constituted the major factor in securing Mr. Grimes's notable success which gave the Antislavery party a seventy-two-year lease on the seats of authority in the state of Iowa.

## BENJAMIN F. PEARSON'S WAR DIARY

[This diary, beginning July 22, 1862, and extending to April 6, 1864, was published in the four preceding numbers of the ANNALS. The present installment extends from April 7, 1864, to November 16, 1864.—Editor.]

*April 7.* Variable with frequent sprinkles of raine & at dark it commenced in earnest with heavy raine, hard thunder, & sharp lightning & continued until after midnight. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 Oc A. M. I reported & took command of the forageing Guards of the 36th Iowa it was a brigade forageing party & we had a traine of 36 wagons & the Maj of the 43rd Indiana was in command of us all, we went to the rear & passed through our battle ground crossed the Little Mo River at Elkin Ford & took down on the Roane road & went some  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles & within  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile of Roane we succeeded in loading most of our waggons with corn hogs beef & C & returned safely before sunset haveing travled some 18 or 20 miles we routed one Reb Picket post & took & brought in one prisoner. On ariveing at Camp to my sorrow I learnt that Wm O Garl Corp who was wounded on the fourth & had his leg amputated had died & was burried & also Henry Reitzel of Co A died of Lung disease & they were buried together. I got dinner this day with Mrs Julia Ann Welch a widow, she has a good frame residence on a hill her farm land in view on the bottom land of the Little Mo this River between banks is from 75 to 100 yds it is now low & where we infantry crossed is now about 18 yds across the water the teams all ford & at the ford it is about knee deep

*April 8.* It rained hard nearly all last night, & raised the Little Mo River so that they had to send our Pontoon traine back to Elkin ford  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from where we are bivouacked. Genl Thayer from Fort Smith got up to the ford with his army & we have been waiting for his arival & our Pioneers have been putting down cordoroy road across the bottom for his artillery & traine, we expect his forces will get up to us tomorrow. At 1 Oc P M we were ordered in line & our Regiment, the 43rd Indiana & 9th Wisconsin under command of Genl Salomon with two Peaces of Artillery, & the 1st Iowa Cav with their little howetzers & the — Mo Cav advanced some 4 or five miles to the front & expected a fight but returned by sunset without even a skirmish. We passed through the best, pine timber I have yet seen in the South the land is but a bed of gravel & sand the gravel constituteing almost the intire body, they varry in size from the size of a pea up to the size of geese eggs; there are many dog wood trees & bushes through the woods & they are white with bloom, & where we are stoped on Mrs. Cornelious place the appletrees are nicely in bloom, this is an old place the buildings are hewed logs chinked & not pointed the fire places & chimneys built of logs & sticks smeared over with clay Just here at the road side on the ground I am seated to write I have now returned from a ramble



around the rebble brest works of dirt & logs they are about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or two miles in extent on the hil tops & sides as the road enters them from Elkin ford here they expended considerable of labour but retreated on our advance without doing us any harm they fired a few shots only & did not hurt any one to my knowledge

*April 9.* There was some skirmishing in front on our picket lines but I did not hear that any one on our side was hurt, Genl Thayer & his forces came up to us this P M & I had a short interview with Capt Joseph Morey of the 18th Iowa now act Adj't Genl on Col Edwards Staff. I also had a short interview with Capt Bunner of the 7 Mo Cav & young Mr Decheart & Hancock, who just arive from Little Rock with dispatches they had no trouble on the way came through in 3 days

*Sunday, April 10.* At day light we had orders for our Regt to be ready to march at 7 Oc & the army had already commenced some of it to move & it was  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 Oc P M when we ware ordered to move & the roads being bad the Artillery & traines moved slow & our Reg was divided in two wings to guard the train but soon we began to hear the sound of Artillery in front & we ware ordered forward on double quick & we reached the batery just at dusk, & the artillery had just quit firing for a few minutes, we had double quicked near or quite 3 miles we ware formed in line in rear on our right flank & ordered to lay down; in a few minutes the skirmishing with rifles commenced & then the artillery again opened with renewed fury & the blaze from the artillery & guns & the flying & bursting shells was a beautiful sight; we ware then ordered forward on the left but we did not get any chance to fire this night on the rebs between 9 & 10 Oc night the rebs made a desperate effort to drive our forces from the high prairies where our forces driven them from before night but our men repulsed them & held their ground with verry little loss on our side.

*April 11.* Prairie De Hand Hempstead Co Ark It is now 7 Oc A. M & the skirmishing has just commenced a little in front The forenoon of this day was beautifull clear pleasant evening cloudy with heavy raine through this night. About 1 Oc P. M. we ware moved forward to the front & center on a beautifull eminance on the Prairie when the view was grand, & the surrounding sublime our brigade ware in line in the center Genl Rices immediately on our right & Col Inglesmans Brigade immediate on our left other forces extending out on our flanks & heavy reserves in the rear & the skirmishers line in front of us in nice view for near two miles in length the reb skirmishers in front of them & beyond their skirmishers their line of battle but little of which we could see, being mostly in the woods the afternoon was spent in trying to draw them out & finding their position; in the first we failed but in finding their position, & fortifycations we succeeded Privates Abraham Humble died this day & N F Mottoo died this night, they ware good men & brave soldiers & ware both wounded in our fight at Elkin Ford on the Little Mo on the 4th Inst. They are burried together at the edge of Prairie De Hand

*April 12.* The day was most delightfull Clear & pleasant after a night of almost steady raine, at 12 Oc morning our company moved forward as the front Picket or skirmishers & placed in line about 10 feet apart on the high prairie the men all set or laid down with a vigilant eye in front but no Reb appeared in reach of us, at about 1½ past 5 Oc we were relieved from the front to get our bite of breckfast, & the skirmishers were now beginning to move forward on both sides & the firing commenced by them; & before 7 Oc A M our line of battle was formed our brigade on the center Genl Rices on our right & Col Inglemans brigade on our left with other forces streatching far beyond on each flank with the batterrys properly distributed along our line, & heavy reserves in rear of us, of infantry & cavelry & when we ware all in motion it presented to my view one of the grandest scenes my eyes ever beheld truly the scene was grand, & sublime, & the cracking of rifles by the lines of skirmishers with an ocasional fire from the artillery & the bursting shells added to the sublimity of the surroundings, & in the bright morning as we could see our forces streached for miles on the prairie & all in motion every man of us believing a fight certain & a victory sure, all ware jubilent but the rebs took a scare & stampeded from their formidable brest works of timber which ware near or quite a mile long, with aditional earth works from which they fled in haste without waiting to fire on us from behind them, they took towards Washington on the Washington & Camden road, & after our forces had persued them some 5 miles they returned & we all moved on towards Camden with rejoicing haveing witnessed the most sublime and grand move of military display that any of us had ever witnessed & had routed the enemy from their brest works & riflepitts without any loss scarcely on our side, after passing from this beautifull prairie we came into low wet poor land with heavy pine timber, the little town of Moscow with some 6 or 8 log houses & 3 remaining familys is just in the edge of this timber & some wounded Rebs & one of the 18 Iowa wounded was there, we traveled some 10 miles this day & camped near — Mill on a small stream

*April 13.* At 6 Oc A M we had orders to be ready to march at 7 Oc, but it was 11 Oc before the order came to march, the night had passed & no disturbance about our lines, & our delay in marching was from the extreme bad roads in front that had to be repaired by our pioneers our brigade was in the advance Our Reg in front & our Co the advance guard marching left in front. Our march was through a low marshy Country mostly heavily timbered with pine the country poor we bivouacked near Cane Creek after 5 Oc P M haveing marched perhaps from 5 to 8 miles in mud most of the time, we crossed about the middle of our days travel a Creek called Caroose it had a bridge over it about 20 steps across it. Our forces ware attacked in the rear & quit a sharp little fight was had but we ware out of hearing of the artillery, & I cannot learn any of the particulars only it was Marmadukes forces &

Genl Thayer drove them clear beyond their fortifications that we had drove them from on yesterday on the northeast side of Prairie Dehand. I have a day of suffering with rheumatic pains caused perhaps by the heavy drenching we got nite before last, but I am on duty & will be while I am able to walk

*April 14.* Early in the morning we had orders to be ready to march at a moments notice; but it was 2 Oc P M before the order to march came, & we started through the swamps & over Cane Creek a stream with a bridge some 18 yds across; & we waded on through the mud until we came to the bluff of Sand the first hill was covered with a brown Sand Stone & our march was for the ballance of the afternoon over hills of almost pure sand, the timber nearly all pine, we passed through a village called Lone Grove just at sunset & camped just south of it on the farm of Mrs Alcey Davis we gethered the little cornstalks spread them on the sand in the field & reposed the night on them One of this Widdow Davises sons is one of our commanding General Steele's body guards, he spent the night with his Mother & Sisters had not been at home before in five years belongs to the—Ills Cav & has two brothers, conscripts in the Rebs army. Dr Wm R Rook lives on an adjoining farm has been a Reb but not in the army but now gives it up & intends to leave his farm & take his wife & go with our army to Camden. The town of Lone Grove contains 4 or five houses one a decent looking one story frame is said to be 23 miles from Camden I have not heard of any fighting this day our Cav took a few Rebs.

*April 15.* We received orders at 1 Oc in the morning to be ready to march at 5 Oc, at 3 Oc we ware up got our breakfast & at ½ past 5 Oc we ware in motion, we marched this day left in front; at about 7 Oc A M we heard the artillery in front we moved along until about 1 Oc P M when we came to a mane road coming into the Washington & Camden Road from the Spring river Country, here we unlimbered 2 pieces of artillery & posted them so as to rake that road on the approach of an enemy, & the left wing of our Reg was left to protect the artillery, until Genl Thayer's forces would arive, it was 6 Oc before they arived & Genl Thayer relieved us, & we started gladly for camp & arived after 1 Oc in the night & bivoucked on the Red Camping grounds about one mile north west of Camden the country through which we came is poor & but little less than sand banks the traveling heavy like wading in snow, the timber mostly pine the undergroath Dog wood, this day we saw numerous patches of cactus or Prickely pear along the road, & for miles the trees bear the marks of war being in places ridled by shots & shells from the artillery as well as rifle balls; as near as I can learn there was 3 men killed & 6 wounded on our side & 14 killed on the Reb side & the number of wounded more than double that number they killed one & captured one of Genl Steele's Scouts the name of the one killed was E Bard They came meeting the scouts & had on our uniforms & they took them for our own men until they ware close to them & one of the Rebs drew his revolver & shot



Bard captured the other & shot a horse under the third but he escaped our forces being at hand

*April 16.* After Breakfast Capt, Fee & Hale went down into the city afternoon Our brigade moved into the edge of the city of Camden & I took a general ramble over & around the city & its various fortifications, which are in good positions to protect the city 4 of them on the highest points of land & overlooking the city & country about it the largest one Ft. Genett on our right as we enter the city is the largest & there are 3 to our left as we go into the city The one on the extreame left is Ft Matilda, there is also a small fort on the bottom at the lower end of the city, but the shively chose to flee from these formidable breast works rather than risk their chances by trying to hold them; there was a few running shots fired as our advance came into the city but none from the fortification, & I believe there was no one hurt in taking the city this place which once contained a population of near 7 thousand has not over that many hundred people in it now Camden is the county seat of Ouachita Co there is a good brick Court house large & commodious with two good high stories & is far the best court house I have seen in the state the city contains some good residences most of the buildings are frame there are some good brick dwellings & business houses, but no business done in them now & no goods in the place; it is on the bluffs on the west bank of the Ouachita River the bank of the river immediately in front of the city is very abrupt & about 30 to 50 ft high, it slopes off at the upper edge of the city & there is a small level piece of bottom land on the Camden side

*Sunday, April 17.* At 8 Oc A M. I was ordered to report as Officer of the day & after attending to the various duties, at 10 Oc I attended preaching by our Chaplain in front of Cols head Qrs on the little prairie in the limits of the City of Camden he preached from John 1st Ch & 17th v & he called on me to close by an exhortation & prayer which I did. in the best manner I knew how, with my sword girt upon me. Capt Fee being sick with ague I took the Company out on inspection at 3 Oc P M. & at 8 Oc night we received Orders to be ready to march at 7 Oc tomorrow morning

*April 18.* At 7 Oc A M we were ordered in line & our regiment marched out on the road south east, 6 miles from Camden with a train of 45 wagons loaded with Corn, to James M Britton Steam mill, after unloading the corn the train went back to Camden, we put out our guards & detailed men to cut & carry wood others to run the mill & others to shuck & shell the corn, we were pretty near all on duty, & for the first time since I have been soldiering is it that there was a universal dissatisfaction with Officers & men for the position we were placed in 6 miles from any support, & within 14 miles of Shelys head Qrs & 18 miles of Prices head Qrs & 15 miles only from the main Rebel army & we without even one piece of artillery & only 20 Cavalry out with us & a part of the road almost impassible for a regiment to travel over being over 2 bad streams to cross & some swampy ground the

bridge over two Bayou which has been about 150 yds long over the creek & swamp is now impassable even for footmen, the Rebs haveing fired it in several places & burnt some parts of it; at 9 Oc night a dispatch arived ordering us back Camden, we had only one wagon & no Ambulance we packed our duds, called in our guards & started, but soon met Col McLean our Brigade Commander with the ballance of the brigade & a train of wagons to take in the meal & corn & we were marched back put out our guards & loaded up the train & again started for Camden & got in just at day light of the 19th weary & provoked, but glad that we ware back safe from the exposed position in which we had been placed. For several hours this forenoon we heard heavy canonadeing but did not know who ware engaged until the dispatch arived ordering us to Camden, when we reed the sad news that a forage train of some two hundred wagons & about one thousand mules & horses & four pieces of artillery, & three companies of the 18th Iowa Infy & the 2nd Arkansas Inft A D ware mostly captured by the Rebs

*April 19.* At day break we arived back to Camden from where we marched at 7 Oc A M of yesterday, tyred & weary & soon we ware composed upon our blankets spread upon the ground & enjoying repose to wearied nature, the forenoon was spent by most of us about camp, afternoon I went into the city visited the hospital conversed with the sick & wounded &c. I then went to the river viewed the side wheel steamer, Homer that our forces captured some miles below Camden the day after we took this place, she is a good but small steamer, I next went to the printing office of the States Rights Eagle by Hobson & Linscott Camden Ark I could obtain no late paper as the press had suspended but I got one date Meh 12th 61, Vol IV, No 6 it contained some spicey articles & notices among which was the following which I will here give verbatim:

#### "RUNAWAY NEGROES CAUGHT

Having a superior pack of well trained Negro Dogs, I will catch Negroes at the following prices; \$5, for chasing a negro, and \$25, for catching them. I can be found at all time at my residence, North-west of Camden on the Aradelphiah road.

W. M. Bratton."

I insert here that the above road is the Arkadelphia & the k has been omitted by the printer or Bratton.

*April 20.* At 1 Oc P. M. the supply traine from Little Rock by the way of Pine Bluff commenced to arive Col Clayton of the 5th Kansas Cav was in Command they arived safely without any mishap, brought also a heavy male, to the joy of us all. I received some dozen letters several from my Daughter one from my Brother in Md. & from sundary other friends & correspondants. Soon as the traine commenced ariveing I heard that my son was coming & was among the rear guards, I got permission & started I passed through the city of Camden; crossed

the Ouachita river on a pontoon just above the city & soon I had the pleasure of meeting & greeting my patriotic son, a recruit to our company & now in his 17th year, & I this day enter into my fiftyeth year, after our meandering march from Little Rock to this city some two hundred miles by our rout every foot of which I walked, & at night lay upon the ground & in the raine without tent & I took my part in every skirmish or battle in which any part of our Regiment was ingaged all of which I have cheerfully done & stood it as well as most of the boys or officers & I weigh this day 168 lbs.

*April 21.* At 7 Oc Capt Hale of Co D & my Son & I went to the Ouachita river & fished a short time with but little success afternoon we recd notice that a male would leave for Pine bluff in the morning & that our letters must be in by 3 Oc P M so we wrote some in haste

*April 22.* At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 8 Oc A. M. I reported & took charge of the Picket guards & marched out to our line. North of Camden & relieved Lieut Birnbaum of Co D. & at 5 Oc P M the Officer of the day came out & ordered me to report with my men immediately to Lt Col F M Drake; as our Reg was ordered to march immediately I reported as ordered & left the line without Pickets, & immediately on my arival at Camp we marched through Camden & crossed the Ouachita river on a pontoon bridge & camped in a low cane patch among the swamps about one mile east of Camden it was near 9 Oc night when we were ordered to stack arms & unsling knapsacks, & it was sprinkling raine. I will designate this Camp No 1 on this trip. Our brigade the 2nd Brigade of the 3rd Division of the 7th Army Corps consisting of the 36th Iowa 43rd Indiana & 77th Ohio Infy are along & a small detachment of Cavelry making in all about fifteen hundred troops & are all under command of Lieut Col F M Drake of the 36th Iowa. & also two sections 4 pieces of the 2nd Mo Batery & 4 Casions & there are 240 Government waggons 8 Ambulances & between 50 & 75 Sutler & Citizen refugees wagons to guard makeing a train near ——— miles long

*April 23.* Camp No 2 we have marched some over 20 miles this day the roads are muddy & the traveling heavy we have had no fighting & have heard only of some 20 rebs in our rout & they succeded in capturing two captains one, was discharged & the other going through with us on business & neither belong to this Brigade, & are both in fault, as they went ahead of our advance, & the rebs ran upon them & took them at about 4 Oc P M We heard heavy firing in the rear, & we thought it was at or near Camden; we are bivouacked in a pine woods. The day has been cold with frequent showers & the forepart of the night showery & cold, we went into camp about 5 Oc P M The Country is poor low & flat, mostly covered with pine, & cyprees the ground is verry sandy & livery or shakey, & no improvements to amount to any thing; & nearly all the women claim to be widows a few acknowledge their husbands are in the rebble army, & when their Negroes want to follow our train they sometimes cry aloud & say that if they go away, that them & their children will be left to starve but their tears & intreatys



have but little impression on the negroes they seem to have a thirst for freedom

*Sunday, April 24.* Camp No 3 among the pines near the Mona River, we have marched 16 miles this day through a flat sandy country mostly poor land, & bad roads, we were very much detained by the train, we have not been molested, & saw no rebels, that claimed to be such; there is much more improved land along the road of this day's travel than we have seen since we crossed the Ouachita, the land poor & the improvements give no evidence of enterprize buildings almost entirely of logs with stick & mud chimneys & not a building in 50 in this country pointed the institution of Slavery has blighted the whole Country & demoralized nearly all the people,

*April 25.* I had been ordered to report at day break to Capt Coles with one Corporal & 2 men from each Co to take charge of the wagons that hauled our knapsacks & at 5 O'c the train commenced to move the 43rd Ind was the front guards & our Reg in the center & the 77 Ohio the rear guard & 2 pieces of Artillery front & two with the rear guards the Moro bottom is but little less than a swamp for some five to six miles & teams stalling & mules miring caused great difficulty in keeping the train closed up, & after the front of the train had got some 2 or 3 miles beyond the bottom & while the rear was yet floundering in the mud the Enemy with six to eight times our number & with eight pieces of artillery attacked our advance guards at about 10 O'c near Marks Mill Bradley County Red Land township Ark. They were commanded by Genls Fagan, Dockney, Shelby & Cabell, & also Col Crawford commanded a brigade; they had selected their position in a heavy woods having much under growth, they had one brigade in front to attack & one brigade out on each flank out so that our flankers did not discover them until after we were attacked they had one brigade in readiness to dash across in rear of the advance guards & cut the train in two which was done soon after our regiment got into the engagement & other forces they had posted at different points to move as they might see necessary the battle was short & desperate & more than one fourth of the two forward Regiments were killed & wounded before they were taken, but we were overpowered by numbers. Early in the engagement our commander Lieut Col F M Drake was severely wounded early in the engagement the command then devolved on the Majors that were with us this being next highest in rank, the 77th Ohio was commanded by Capt McCormick & before they got up from the rear the 43rd Ind & 36th Iowa were taken & this no doubt disheartened them & they did not fight as perhaps they would under other circumstances, but no effort on their part could have saved the day to us, the rebels took the entire train & most of the troops or near one thousand prisoners, my son & about 30 others of our Reg cut through their lines & made their escape. The rebels robbed nearly every man of us even to our Chaplain & many of our dead they stripped of every stitch of clothes even their shirts & socks & left them unburied & the woods on fire & many of the wounded

they jurked of their boots, blouses, pants & hats, & as they would plead to have their garments left they would damn them for abolitionests or niger thieves, & they also took from many of the prisoners some of the garments they had on some they took their boots, some blouses, some pants & some hats & they had no respect for persons rank nor age, Old Capt Moss of the 43rd Indiana Infy they took his hat, & marched him bareheaded with his bald head & white locks & beard in the burning sun, there was not an armed negro with us & they shot down our Colored servents & temsters & others what ware following to get from bondage, as they would shoot sheep dogs.

*April 26.* At 7 Oc A M, I got a written permit from A T Robertson & also from Hamit Pinson, Confederate Seargs at Dockerys Hospital & Robertson at Cranes hospital; to go over the battle field & to the different hospitals; to look for my son, & I put in the day with diligent search, & an anxious acheing heart & witnessed the fearfull results of earnest war & the picture was a sad one. I saw nor heard anything of my son but the mangled bodys of the dead lay in every imaginable shape over the woods & many of them striped of every stitch of cloths & many of them burnt into a crisp next to the ground as the woods was burnt over, I think the woods took fire from the burning wagons as the Rebs burnt about half of them there are some 60 odd dead horses over the battle ground, & 30 odd dead mules, & the number of Negroes I could not get I saw perhaps near 30, & the Rebs pointed out to me a point of woods where they told me they had killed eighty odd negroes men women & children this is their report to me & it may be true & it may not, I did not see it nor was I in that part of the woods, but I fully believe they are hartless enough to do any act that wicked men or devils could conceive, they left our dead on the field until a flag of truce came out from Pine Bluff & burried them some 3 or 4 days after the battle & the negroes are not & never will be buried until the rains wash the sands over their bleached bones

*April 27.* I buseyed myself in visiting among the wounded in hospitals and comforting them what I could by words & deeds I wrote a line & sent it open with the flag of truce to the Bluff to be forwarded to Emma.

*April 28.* I busey myself this day among the wounded at James Cranes & Mrs Hunters in Red land township Bradley Co. Ark, the men that came out from Pine Bluff with a flag of truce to burry the dead returned this day to the Bluffs & I wrote a line to my children & sent it open with them. Lieut John W May of Co F 36th Iowa died of the wound he received in battle on the 25th he was shot in left leg below the knee & the bone shatered too pieces & not amputated, he was resigned to his fate & requested me to write to his Father John May at Confidence Wayne Co Iowa he was a brave man & beloved by all his comrades & men he died at Cranes hospital in the room where Lieut Col F M Drake is confined of his wound Lieut McVay of Co B & myself assisted in burrying Lieut May

*April 29.* I buisied myself in doing all in my power this day to relieve the suffering & dyeing of our brave men, by attending so far as I could to them & assisting in every way I could to relieve them in body & mind Oh what a blessed thing it is to be religious in health & in prosperity surrounded by kind & loveing friends, & Oh what an inestimable priviledge to have the enjoyment of religion the smile of God & the abideing presence of the precious Saviour in the hours & weary days & nights of deep distress of sickness & death as is the case now with many of us here in this strange land in the hands of our bitter enemy & surrounded with the enemies of God & man, but even here where the blighting curs of Slavery has blunted the finer sencibilities of humanity the precious promises of God are realized by his people & we are permitted to rejoice even here bles the Lord for his abundant goodness & mercy to us in our sad situation.

*April 30.* Verry heavy thunder sharp lightning & hard raine before day. forenoon showery, afternoon almost a constant drenching raine until after night. At 7 Oc A. M. Dr Castleberry of the 1st Ind Cav & Chief Serg of our Div sent for me at the Crane Hosp to report to him at Marks Mills hospital I immediately went & he & the Reb Sergt Jas M Holcombe requested me to report with some request from them to Col Clayton at Pine Bluff for Supplys & medicines for the wounded & at ½ past 9 Oc A. M. I started on an old stiff Battery horse, & swam the Saline river at Mt Elba between 12 & 1 Oc arived at Pine Bluff & reported to Col Clayton just after dark, I took supper with the Col & by his instructions delivered the hors to the Maj. of the 1st Ind Cav, to be sent back to Castleberry at first opportunity I then went & passed the night with Rev Furguson Chaplain of the 1st Ind Cav, he has charge of the post office & we spent the night in it but I was so wet & tired that I slept none. I rode a stiff old battery horse almost 50 miles swam the Saline river & the horse blundered & stumbled along all day keeping me in constant suspense least he fall; I came through alone & saw no rebs but heard fighting with artillery the country is poor sand gravel & clay with pine timber. The town of Mt Elba at the Saline has one family in it & there are over ½ doz log houses

*Sunday, May 1.* I am verry tyred haveing slept but little in the last week, being amongst the wounded & dyeing ever since the battle of Marks mills, & yesterday haveing road a hard rideing old battery horse from beyond the battle ground at Cranes hospital, to pine Bluff a distance of near 50 miles & a torrent of raine falling on me all the afternoon & evening & in the forenoon drenching showers & I swam the Saline river at Mt Elba a town now containing one family; at this side of the river the horse mired & got down in its edge & I got almost intirely blotched over with mud & for a time was fearfull I would have to leav the horse to perish with some 30 odd that lay dead on the bank just above him that the rebs had shot a short time ago by the bad management of a capt who was guarding the ferry & had hitched their horses on the river bank & the Rebs cralled up in the brush & timber



on the opposite bank & shot them. I took breakfast this morn with chaplain Fergeson of the 1st Ind Cav & at 8 Oc A M came on board the steamer Leonora & at 9 Oc A M we started for Little Rock the 12th Michigan Inftry Col Wm H Graves are on board they are a fine Regt of veterans now over 900 strong I got a stateroom & kept my room most of the day being so verry near done out at night the boat laid by.

*May 2.* At dawn of day the boat again started & we landed at Little Rock at a little after noon & to the joy of my heart found my son there well haveing with a few others of our Regt escaped being wounded or Captured in our desasterous fight on the 25th at Marks Mill where the most of our brigade ware killed wounded & captured by an overwhelming force

*May 3.* I spent most of the day among the boys, who had made their escape from the rebs on the day of our battle in the evening my son & I went down into the city. Steele's forces have been ariveing all day, that came through from Camden, & they like myself are almost used up, by marching & fighting

*May 4.* Lt Col F M Drake Lieuts Hurlburt & McVay of our Regt, arived from rebeldom they came from Pine Bluff on a steamer I acompanied the Col in the forenoon to Genl Salomons head Qrs & we remained with him sometime, & then went to Genl Rices & found him suffering from the wound he received in his foot at the battle on the Saline river at Jenkins ford on Saturday last April the 30th I heard the firing some of the time & it is said to be one of the most terrific battles of musket firing of the war, the Rebs attacked Genl Steels rear with some 15 to 20 thousand troops & on our side there ware some 5 to 6 thousand & the 2nd Kansis Coloured troops charged a rebble battery & took three pieces of Artillery & they dare not bring any more into action least they loose them also., our boys used all the ammunition that our killed & wounded in their boxes & also all that the dead & wounded & captured rebs had that fell into our hands & the 2nd Kansis Colored took three stands of Colors from the Rebs & had the honor of marching into this city in front of the army.

*May 5.* I visited the hospitals & was among the wounded, spent an hour with our Lt. Col. F M Drake visited the Camp of the Squad of the 3rd Iowa Cav that are here & saw some old friends my son was with me & at evening we attended prayer meeting in the M E Church I partialy bargained with Robert Patterson for a horse at \$15 which he is to bring over in the morning & if I can turn it over to Lieut Mound our Qrs Master I am to take it & credit the Amt \$15. on notes & acts due me from Paterson

*May 6.* Morning I was at the opening of the legislator in the State house in Little Rock Ark & after spending some time there I got a pass of the Provost Martial Col Chandler, & my son, & I visited the Penitentiary I took some paper & envellops to Scott T Crow of my Co & also some newspapers, at noon I wrote a request to Maj Genl Steele

asking permission to go home until I am exchanged. afternoon I attended the legislative hall as they had adjourned to elect delegates to attend the National Convention to be held at Baltimore to anoint a candidate for the Presidency. the following were chosen James A Butler of Phillips County, Geo Case of Independance County Valentine Dell of Sebastian County S T Frost of Pulaska County W. M. Matheny of Pulaska County Wm T Marywether of Independance County Lieut Patten of Washington County Josiah Snow of Jefferson County L. C White of Crawford County H B Allace of Jefferson for the State at large with instructions to all to go for A Lincoln.

*May 7.* I spent most of the day in the cenate Chamber & legeslative hall with the members listning to their Speeches &c. I spent the evening with the Rev Crowl local agent of the city of Little Rock at his Office

*Sunday, May 8, 1864.* Variable with showers after night at 10½ Oc A M I attended the Colored M E Church Falton Hardon preached & I exorted At 3 Oc P M, their Preacher in Charge Wm Wallace Andrews preached & I exorted after him text Psalms 23 ch 1st & 5 verses inclusive. Remark, Since my return from capitivity with the Rebs where I was robbed, these coloured people have insisted on me letting them take up a collection for me, & as I had been in charge of them all winter & until we left in March & would not consent to let them take up a collection for me, they insist now that they will feel it a great priveledge to take a collection now & I counceiled several white preachers about it & they all said I ought to consent & so I permitted them to take up a collection for me & they done nobly Evening I tryed to preach to the Colored people from Matthew 23rd 37th & 38th I tryed to show the applycation in the case of rebbls now & showed that final dessulation would come on all who reject the Saviour My Son & I took dinner with the Rev John Payton a Colored preacher & it was the best meal I ever ate in this State I took supper with Brother Holman a member of the legislator now in Session

*May 9.* I visited the hospitals & I also spent some time in the cenate chamber & in the legislative hall where they had some spirited speeches

*May 10.* Amandus reported to Lt K P Morrison Mustering Officer for the State of Ark. he Amandus received an order from Maj Genl Steele to report at that Office to Clerk, we spent a part of the day in the Cenate Chamber & in the Legislative hall they had some warm Speeches.

*May 11.* At 7 Oc A M. I visited Rev Brother Williams Chaplain of the 43 Ind he is suffering with Rheumatism in his left brest & sholder I then called to see Rev Oliver Williams fife Maj of the 29th Iowa & Lieut Elliott of Co E 29th Iowa, & there I was taken with dizzy head & sinking of my sistem I started for my quarters & I had no pain nor ache & was not sick but I came near sinking away from time, when I recovered so I could walk, I went to our doctor & he examined me, I was not the least sick, soon after this I was taken verry sick & vomited

the Dr gave me medicine to settle my stomach & at evening they gave me a powder but I soon vomited it up then they put a mustard draft on my stomach & after that I took an other powder, but it did not stay down long. At 6 Oc A. M. I went in the Ambulance with Mrs Capt Lambert & Lieut Hurlburt of Co K to the levey & assisted them on the ferry boat, I sent a letter & a box of my old cloths books & C to my daughter by Lt Hurlburt

*May 12.* This date I was verry sick & not able to write any & now I come back from the 20th & write

*May 13.* It was with difficulty that the doctors prevented conjection in my Case this day as yesterday & some almost dispaired of my livinge

*May 14.* The day was extreemly warm & at times I was almost as sick as death

*Sunday, May 15.* I felt some better part of this day but verry sick at times

*May 16.* At times the air was almost hot as if it had come out of an oven At times I was much reveived & then would become almost fainting with sick stomach & weakness

*May 17.* I was verry sick most of the day but was able to sit up a few minutes I was in hospital of the 36th Iowa Infy I received an Official order from C. W. Kittredge Col of the 36th Iowa to report at his head Qrs by 1 Oc P M of tomorrow the 18th for duty; his was an extract of another order

*May 18.* I was better then I had been since the 11th but was verry weak & sometimes quite faint. My Col called to see me & spent some time with me & explained to me about the order I received on yesterday & advised me in relation to it, & regreted that he had sent it to me in my presant condition fearing it might have a bad effect upon me in my debilitated State

*May 19.* They moved the hospital tents of the 36th Iowa down near where the fragmant of our reg are camped in a beautifull grove on the bank of the river a few blocks above the state house & the hospital is on Markham street in a beautifull grove between the state house & the Governors residence & near to his residence. & the sick of us ware moved down & it nearly exausted me There has been great rejoicing caused by the favourable news from Genl Grants army about Richmond in Virginia The 40th Iowa acted as mean as they could with our Doctor in trying to prevent him from moveing his dispensing office or any of his little buildings away after we have given up our camp barracks kitchen hospital buildings church & C.

*May 20.* I am quite feeble, but I think improving sloley

*May 21.* I am a little better this day, but quite feeble. The reports from the Potomac are incourageing There is considerable stir in antiseperation of an attack on this place.

*Sunday, May 22.* Clear & verry warm I have felt some better, but am verry weak, A Steamer arived from Pine Bluff bringing near one hundred of our wounded that came from the Mark's Mills battle ground,



most of them are doing well. Mr Peattenburgh the campbellite Preacher of this city who lives clost to our regimental hospital came & took me to his house on the adjoining lot gathered me a fine bunch of flowers & offered me the priviledge of his library his wife was also verry sociable soliciting me to call often,

*May 23.* Afternoon Mrs Chittingden of Keosauqua favoured me with a Call & it refreshed me to see a friend & neighbour from home in Iowa she is looking well & is engaged in the sanitary department Brother Wm Wertz from the Mo Conference arived at Little Rock this day & takes charge of this district as Presideing Elder of the M E. Church & on his arival Rev Brother Crowl of this city brought him to see me & we had a pleasant interview

*May 24.* Morning Dr Strong 36th Iowa examined me & made out a certificate of disability in my case I took it & walked to the Cols tent a distance of perhaps 150 yds was exausted & had to be brought back to the hospital in an ambulance & it was with some difficulty we kept off another conjective chill

*May 25.* Mrs Chittingden started this morning for Iowa my son assisted her in getting off & accompanied her to the cars over the river I have been verry feeble all day had a tedious night last night but Christ is presant & verry precious to my soul.

*May 26.* I was feeble all day Mortimer Nelson a Sergt in the 40th Iowa Inft heard of me & called this day to see me he used to work for me in Keosauqua Iowa some 12 years ago, I was truly glad to see him, the last I had heard of him was some 6 or 8 years ago he was then an everseer in Texas. at \$400. a year. he left that & went to Ill before the Rebellian was first in the 3 months service next in the 1st Ills Cav was wounded in the left shoulder April 30th 1864 at Jenkins' Ferry.

*May 27.* I am feeling a little better today but am verry weak Brother Wm Wertz P Elder of this Little Rock district called & spent an hour with me this day & also Mortimer Nelson & Henry Grages called & spent some time with me

*May 28.* I have felt some better today I reed a letter from My Capt T M Fee. Of Centerville Iowa & also The Loyal Citizen a paper published at Centerville May 18th containing a letter of mine written to Mrs Capt T M Fee immediately after my arival here from Captivity among the Rebbles I did not write it for publication & was astonished to see it in the paper, but it may have calmed the minds of many while it bore sad news to others. Mrs Fee in her letter expresses the deepest gratitude to me for the information I sent her in the time of her deep suspense. Rev Saml F C Garrison a Sergt in the 40th Iowa Inft. & now by them reccommended for promotion as their Chaplain called & spent an hour with me today he was formerly of the Iowa Conference I answered Mrs Capt T M Fees letter & sent a full list of our killed & wounded of the battle of Mark's Mills Apr 25th to D L Streckler, Ed of the Loyal Citizen Centerville Iowa

*Sunday, May 29.* Day more pleasant than for some time but the flies are more numerous than I ever saw them any place before in every direction as far as we could see they are numerous as bees swarming I have been quite feeble but have walked around the hospital some Rev K P Morrison calld & spent sometime with me he is 1st Lieut in Co C of the 36th Iowa & is mustering officer for this State my son is clerking for him in his office

*May 30.* Clear & verry warm & flies in swarms I have been quite poorly this day sick stomake & vomiting & verry feeble & feel intirely exausted. I recd by the hand of Dr Smith assist Surg 36th Iowa A letter of inquiry about a horse I rode from Mark's Mills to Pine Bluff from Dr Isaac Caselberry Surg 1st Ind Cav & I immediately answered him at Pine Bluff

*May 31.* My stomack has not been so iritable today & I have had a little more strength than for some days previous

*June 1.* At 6 Oc A M Jacob A Duckworth of Co F died in hospital near me, he had flux & measles, his brother who was wounded at Jenkins' Ferry in battle April 30th is also in the hospital, & is able to go about on cruches his wound is in his foot, Jacob leaves a wife & four children, he was a recruit & he had a brother a recruit also for the same company came down with him to Memphis Tenn & there he took sick & died & two other recruits for the same Co died on their way here I believe I am gaining strength a little

*June 2.* I recd Notice that my papers asking leave of absence ware before the examining Surgt at the St John Colledge now U S A. Post Hospital Little Rock Ark & that it was necessary for me to be present at 2 Oc P M & at One Oc the Ambulance takeing Capt Wm Mahon of Co E. 36th Iowa; before the board of medicle examining committee on the same business, they called & took me along, & we ware examined & our papers approved My health has not improved any this day & I am weary from the ambulance ride, & going among my wounded men while at the Post hospital

*June 3.* I was quite feeble & write this page & the intermediate until the 6th on the A M of the 6th

*June 4.* Clear & warm & the country literly swarming with flies, I was very weak & faint with sick stomake & frequent vomiting.

*Sunday, June 5.* I was attacked with frequent vomiting but am better than I have been for two days past. The Lord is my shepherd & ever near me Oh how precious to my Soul in the time of my deep affliction

*June 6.* At 10, Oc A M the cannons in Little Rock commenced firing Salute guns in honor of the Arival of Maj Genl ——— Sickles & he commenced a review of the Army of Ark in Company, with Maj Genl F Steele, & Brig Genls Carr; West, Salomon & Andrews & Bussey they made quite a display with their trains of Orderleys & body guards in their wake I stood on the edge of the street & Saluted the dignitarees as they passed Genl Sickles right leg is taken off clost to his body. At 12 Oc noon the ambulance came for me & I started from Little Rock

crossed the river & got in the Cars & at 2½ Oc P M. I shook hands with my son kissed him & the train started we were detained at Brownville until after night & it was after 11 Oc when we arrived at Devall Bluff & I was almost exasted Sergt — — of the 33rd Iowa who was wounded at Saline Ap 30th now on his way home & my Servent fixed me a comfortable lodging in a shed & the Sergt & I laid together & got some rest thank the good Lord

*June 7.* Capt Wm Mahon of Co E 36th Iowa arrived at Devall Bluff from Little Rock on the morning train of Cars, & we took a Stateroom on the Steamer Westmorland, for Memmphis Tenn Capt Mahon & I ware weighed & he weighed 135 lbs & my weight 124 lbs scant having lost by my sickness 33 lbs weight.

*June 8.* The streets about Devall Bluff are in a bad condition & the mud slipery as if it was all soaped The 1st Nebraskey Came on board the steamboat Westmorland on their way home as veterans to recruit I took dinner with Capt Snider of Davis Co Iowa he is Capt of the Co H. 54 U S Infy Colored & he is stationed at this point with his Co for fatigue. I had an intruduction to his 1st Lieut Saml P Pearsons from northren Iowa formerly of Maine & his 2nd Lieut Thos N Trickey of Maine.

*June 9.* I took Breakfast with Capt Snider. Evening Maj's Genls Sickles & Steele reviewed the troops at this place I was not able to go out to the review, but spoke to the dignatores at the platform near the Levee Early in the morning the Steamer Kate Hart & Venus arrived from Memphis Tenn bringing the male & government stores I will here note that there are now laying at the landing at Devall Bluff including the above two, 17 transports & one gun boat at a cost to the government of from \$250 to \$400 par day for each boat & no effort is made to unload & dismiss or start them off Names of the boats are Westmorland, Gladiator, Pocahontas, Silver Lake Empire City, John H Dickey, Stephen Decator, Prairce State Kenton Celasste, Tillie Martin, Sham Rock, Albert Pearce Tycoon. & Altamont.

*June 10.* At 4½ Oc morning we loosed cable & started from Devall Bluff on the steamer Westmorland at about 7 Oc A M we passed Clarenden & at noon we passed St Charles noted in this war as the place where the rebs shot into the boiler of a steamer & scalded many of our men & those that jumped into the river to keep from being scalded by the steam they shot & them calling for quarters. Nothing of interest occured & the scenery along white river is very monotonis. Genl Sickles came down from the bluff on a gun boat just in advance of us & we met Emma No 2. Golden Era & the gun boat No 37 & we got out of White River into the Mississippi & landed to wood at Pritchettsville just below the mouth of white river at 6 Oc P M.

*June 11.* We traveled slow this day it was after 12 Oc noon when we landed at Helena Ark & I went immediately to head Qrs & reported to Genl Buford he was very cortious this time & came up & shook hands



with me, quite different from what he appeared when I reported to him last Nov.

I got my papers signed & dated & returned on board the Westmorland she went up to the woodyard & put in the afternoon in wooding & left at 7 Oc evening.

*Sunday, June 12.* We landed at Memphis Tenn at 10 Oc A M & being anxious to make better time than we had thus far on the Westmorland I at once shipped onto the John D Perry for St Louis, & after seeing our things safe in our stateroom Capt Mahon & I walked up into the city & found great anxiety among the citizens & soldiers for the safety of our troops who had gone out some 4 or 5 days since under Genl Sturges & who have been badly cut up by Forrests forces yesterday & the day before some 50 miles from Memphis between Corinth & Jackson, I saw a number of the infantry as they came in white & colored & they have all a sad tale & all have bitter complaint against the Genl for the manner in which he managed to have his troops cut up & captured by detail it refreshes my mind of other days, & to see the poor weary boys my heart was melted with sympathy at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 Oc P M we loosed cable & started for St Louis.

*June 13.* We got along well passing a number of boats we passed Ft Pillow noted for the horrid Masacer by Forrest & his heartless murderers at about 7 Oc M everything there is distroyed & desolation raines complete, among the Points passed ware New Madrid, Island No 10 & Columbus Ky. it was late at nite when we reported there.

*June 14.* Cool breeze making it uncomfortable to set in the shade out of the cabin of the steamer. At 5 Oc A M. we landed at Cairo Ill. I reported & had my papers signed & dated & at 6 Oc A M we loosed Cable & started on our way.

*June 15.* At 1 Oc A M we left Chester Ill & landed at St Louis at 12 Oc noon I at once shipped onto the St Louis & Keokuk steam Packet Warsaw for Keokuk & I walked up into the city a few minutes, & at 4 Oc P M we loosed Cable & started for Keokuk, at  $6\frac{1}{2}$  Oc we tuched a few moments at Alton Ill.

*June 16.* At 7 Oc A M landed at Louisiana Mo & put off the body of Capt C I Herring of that place who was recently killed in Ark by bushwhackers, we ware sometime at Hanibal Mo & Col Summers of the 7th Iowa Cav got on there for his home at Ottumwa Iowa. At Quincy Ill Mr McDonald got on board for Canton Brother McDonald is now Chaplain of the 67th U S Inftry Colored.

*June 17.* At 8 Oc A M. I took the cars at Keokuk for the Summit Station & arived at the station at 11 A M & took the hack for Keosauqua & arived at home at noon & had the pleasure of finding my children & friends & Neighbors well, & many of my good neighbours called to see me. I was very sick a short spell in the morning & suffered severely all day with acheing all over me

*June 18.* I was much better to day than yesterday but at night am weary having had so much good company to see me & talk with

*Sunday, June 19.* At 11 Oc My soninlaw hiched his horses to the buggy & took me to church Brother Latham preached & after dismissing I had the pleasure of a shake hands with many of my Keosauqua friends after which I rode home in the buggy & many of my friends called to see me night finds me weary

*June 20.* I have been feeble & quite a number of friends called to see me

*June 21.* Quite a number of friends have called to see me I am quite feeble

*June 22.* I was quite feeble all day & a number of friends called to see me & among them was my sister & Brother & his wife from Davis Co & my Nephew Clay Pearson

*June 23.* At 8 Oc the hack called for me & I got in & rode to the Summit & there took the cars for Keokuk Capt Wm Mahon & Rev Wm Hanes was on & we arived at Keokuk at 1 Oc P M Capt Mahon & I reported to Dr Tailor Chief Surgt of the post ware examined & recd a certificate of disability for duty Surgt H T Clever made out our certificates, I felt too feeble to return on the cars this day

*June 24.* I felt comfortable in the morning & done a little tradeing & aranged to have the dailey Gate City sent to me at Keosauqua for a Couple of weeks & the weekly sent to Little Rock, Ark to me for the next six months & at 3 Oc P M we took the cars & I arived at home at 6 Oc P M & was very tyred found my Daughter buisey canning cherrys & currents

*Sunday, June 26.* At 11 Oc I walked to Church Brother Latham preached a Missionary Sermon from Joshua 13 Ch & last clause of the 1st verse, A collection was taken up. I went home with old Brother Thos Miller & took dinner & at 5 Oc went home & found friends awaiting my arival, I was weary but had a pleasant day of it This is the first day I have been in any house in the city of Keosauqua since I arived except my own, & the M E Church but hope I will soon be able to call on many of my kind neighbours

*June 27.* I was feeble & remained in dores had a number of friends call to see me, I assisted some in stemming currents for jelley & for canning

*June 28.* My Daughter & I went & spent the afternoon with my Chaplains Family Mrs Hare Brother Rowley & his wife also was with us there for tea Rowley is Presideing Elder for this district we had a pleasant social time Evening we returned home & I was very tyred & feeble.

*June 29.* I have been quite feeble all day & have been quite sick & had two spells of vomiting.

*June 30.* I was better today than yesterday & I walked to Col Caldwells & to sister Hares but was quite feeble at night.

*July 1.* I was quite feeble & sick at stomach & vomiting some

*July 2.* At 11 Oc we had a swarm of bees come off At 5 Oc P M My son in law & my children & I started to my Brothers on a hack &

arived at 8 Oc evening & found brothers family all well I was much wearied but otherwise felt better

*Sunday, July 3.* At 9 Oc A M we my Brothers daughter Maria & my son in law & daughter & I got in the hack & went over to Troy to church & at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 Oc Rev T Miller preached at the M E Church & I closed after him, we took dinner with Brother Arehart a Presbyterian we remained there until 4 Oc P M & accompanied them to their church & heard their preacher the Rev Mr Dyer preach & then we returned to Brothers

*July 4.* At 8 Oc A M my Brother & some of his children & I & mine got in the hack & went over to Troy & formed in the procession & at 9 Oc we all started for the old camp ground in the grove south west of Troy & after ariveing there was martial music & singing by the glee club then the declaration of Independence was read & the Oration delivered by the Rev T Miller of the M E Church then a speech by the Presbyterian minister & next by the congregational minister then adjurned for refreshments at 2 Oc we all reassembled at the stand, the martial music & glee club discoursed some fine music & good Patriotic songs after which the Martial of the day introduced me to the audiance & I addressed them as best I could for one hour & 20 minutes & nearly exasted myself & the shouts came from every part of the crowd to speak on but I had to desist. I found many old friends & had a good time generally. & many of the citizens of Troy & vicinity wanted me to leave an appointinnet to speak again but I declined I went & staid the night at sister T A Hopkins

*July 5.* At 7 Oc A M we left sisters for Centerville Appanoose Co Iowa & arived there at 6 Oc P M we first called on Mrs Capt T M Fee & we spent the evening & night there we had a pleasant social time & this evening I was greeted by many warm friends, I am quite weary by my ride although we have a good spring hack. I called on Lt Col F M Drake a few minutes & found him able to go about on crutches.

*July 6.* This day we spent very pleasantly makeing calls on old friends, we took dinner with Col F M Drake 36th Iowa Inf & he & his lady & us took tea with Brother Sturgeon & I spent the night there & Emma went home with Miss Claudean Straten & staid all night & my Nephew Clay Pearson staid at Bery Swaarengens we had a pleasant time but I am quite weary.

*July 7.* We spent this day pleasantly calling on old friends & many ware hunting us up from the town & country, we took dinner with Mr Rummel & tea with Mr Wooden both merchants & Emma spent the evening & night with Mrs Capt Fee my Nephew & I attended prayer meeting & he staid the night at Benj Swaarengens after meeting I spent an hour with Col Drake & then went & staid the night at Mrs Capt Fee's I was well nigh give out. & was hard pressed by many citizens of the town & country to make a speech, but my health forbid it & I would not consent to speak.

*July 8.* At  $6\frac{1}{2}$  Oc A M we left Centerville for home, at noon we



stopped near West Grove with a discharged soldier & fed and got dinner, we called a short time in Bloomfield & at 6 Oc P M. we arrived at Pulaski. I had consented to make a speech here on my return as I went up, & so altho feeble they insisted & at candlelighting I spoke to a large audience after I spoke David George a citizen & formerly a pro Slavery Cop Democrat was called out & responded, indorsed my intire speech denounced the proslavery democracy & the instution of Slavery & the present organization of the so called democracy, & indorses the nomination of A Lincoln & urges a united vote for him. at the close he was cheered heartily, & I & my folks went & staid the night with Sister T A Hopkins, north of Pulaski one mile.

*July 9.* At 8 Oc A M we started from Sisters & arrived at Brother A L Pearson's for dinner & at 4 Oc P M we left Brothers & arrived at home in Keosauqua a little after sunset, I was very tyred but I attended the Lodge of the I. O. O. F.

*Sunday, July 10.* At 11 Oc A. M. I attended church in this city Keosauqua Brother Latham M E Preacher in charge read a Ch & made a few remarks & D B Smith closed by prayer, & at 1 Oc P M my son in law hiched up to Fee Meredith's hack & took Miss Mullen Miss Tolbert & I to Qr meeting at the Lodom [Lebanon] Church on the Pittsburg work & at 3 Oc P M. Brother Friend Preacher in charge preached & a collection was taken up & the sacrament of the Lords supper administered after dismissal many old friends greeted me heartily & after a time the Elder Rowley & Brother Friend Father Miller their women & our croud went & took tea with Brother Painter

*July 11.* Afternoon I went with my son in law over to my river farm, & I took tea with George Duffield & returned home, almost sick

*July 12.* Morning I rode up to Dr J D. Elberts he was in town & took dinner with us examined me & gave me extention of sick leave; Brother Rowley the P Elder & his wife & sisters Hare & Tilee spent the afternoon with us, I suffered severely with my back from my morning ride perhapse

*July 13.* At 6 Oc A M. I went in wagon with my son in law to my place  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile south of town & I returned by noon quite weary. & from 1 Oc to 4 Oc P M I had quite a high fever.

[From July 13 to October 5, Mr. Pearson continued very unwell, but in spite of that he visited among his relatives and friends in his neighborhood and at Ottumwa, Oskaloosa, Mount Pleasant and Keokuk, entertained them in his home, looked after his farms, crops, and livestock, attended religious meetings, including camp meetings, preached frequently, made patriotic speeches, and led a life of much activity. During this interval we are using only those entries apparently of most interest.—Editor.]

*Sunday, July 24.* At 9 Oc A M we had a speaking & a good time in the grove Rev Amos Yeager opened 11 Oc Rev Bradrick preached, & at 3 Oc P M Brother Lawback pastor preached, & the sacraments of Baptism & the Lords supper were administered & we had a good time,

Evening. Lawback preached & I exhorted & invited mourners several ware forward, & the Lord was with us after dismissal I got in Brother Browns wagon & went home with him & staid all nite nearly wearyed out.

*July 25.* At 7 Oc I left Brother Browns for home & met my son in law at my place & we went to town I felt much revived in body & spirit I took some cloth to Mr. Dawsons & had him take my measure to make me a suit of cloths.

*Sunday, July 31.* 8 Oc A M my Brother A S Pearson & his son Kirk & his two Eldest daughters & my Brother Washingtons son Harris from Idaho all left for brothers & Brother C E Yeager E D Shepherd & I started in my buggy to center Chapple & we broke the king bolt & had to leave our horses & buggy one & ½ miles this side the church at 11 Oc A M I tryed to preached from Jobe 14th 14th & brother Shepherd closed after me I took dinner with Brother John Bennett & at 4 Oc P M we had general speaking & Brother Yeager opened the meeting & we had a glorious time after dismissal we started for home I withed up the buggy & it brought us back safe but I was almost exausted.

*Aug. 1.* Brother John Bennett & I looked at my upper farm, afternoon I spent in town around a show among the people untill I became so exasted that I had to go home Old Ben Starkey was one of the proprietors of the show he was in our Jail hear a few years since

*Aug. 5.* At 9 Oc A M. I got in buggy & took Miss Aby Meredith & went to the picnic in the grove near the McCrary schoolhouse & there was a fine audience of parents & children males & feemales & they had the seats in the grove & had a swing in Order & a splendid dinner & I had been selected & solicited some weeks before to make a speach & had consented if I was well enough to comply with their request so I gave them a sort of religious lecture I read the 4th Ch of Proverbs & used the 7th verse as a foundation we had a good time & I injoyed myself very much for a sick man & we returned home by 6 Oc P M I was almost give out intirely

*Aug. 6.* At 7 Oc A M my son inlaw & I got in my buggy & went over to George C Duffields & he went with us up to my place & I bought a point of land off him on the river adjoining & laying partly in front of the south corner of my land the place contains about 5 acres.

*Sunday, Aug. 7.* 11 Oc A M we attended the funeral sermon of Mrs Charls Bonney at the M E Church Rev Latham Pastor preached from 1st Cor 15th Ch & 20th verse at 4 Oc P M at the same place the Rev McCarther of the presbyterian order preached from Rev 1st ch at candlelighting Rev Ingles delivered a discourse in the M E Church in favour of the soldiers Orphans home & there was \$400.00 subscribed Harvey Claton & wife each took a life membership & I also took a life membership \$25.00 & took an annual membership for my son Amandus \$5.00

*Aug. 10.* 8 Oc A M Capt Mahon & I started from my house in hack rode to Summit & took the Cars for Keokuk arived safe & reported to

medical Surgeon got our certificates put up at the Dudley house both very nearly exasted & I suffering with severe panes in my back & legs We met our good Chaplain M H Hare at the Summit on his way home he is a perfect skeleton weighing 150 lbs when released by the rebbles his common weight is 215 to 30 lbs & no surplus flesh he was taken when I was at the battle at Mark's Mills Bradley Co Ark April 20th 1864

*Aug. 17.* 7 Oc A M Brother Augustus & I got in buggy & rode over to Sylvester Henrys took dinner & started back in the buggy with us & his little son on a horse behind us he had on a few apples in a sack & just after we started his horse skared & jumped between the wheels & the bed of the buggy on the near side & sprung the spokes all out of these two wheels & he fell & the boy also the horses legs in towards the buggy & brother & Mr Henry fell out among the horses feet I was driving & stoped the horse in the buggy immediately & fortunately none of us got hurt, Mr Henry then hitched his horses to his wagon & put the buggy in it & brought us home I was nearly give out but not suffering so much with rheumatism.

*Aug. 18.* At 8 Oc A M Mr Davis & his Lady came in a buggy to my house & would have my brother & I get in with them & go to Birmingham to a Soldiers dinner gotten up more especily for the returned soldiers of the 5th Iowa Infy whos time is up & they have been honorably discharged the dinner was a good one, but great dissatisfaction prevailed among the soldiers & most of the girls also as by the arrangement a soldier could not have his wife or girl eat with him unless he paid 75 cts for her meal & many of the soldiers took their girls & went to the tavern & got their dinners Brother & I returned before the speaking came off we were very weary of our trip

*Aug. 20.* Brother & I went down in town & I bought a young mule of Mr Bennet at \$55.00 Evening I attended the lodge of the I O O F & presented to them the 1st & 2nd geological surveys of Arkansas by R D Owens. James Ferry was initiated into the Order my rheumatism has been more mild today

*Sunday, Aug. 21.* At 9 Oc A M I attended Class at the M E Church & at 11 Oc Rev Coleman from Mt Pleasant preached the funeral discourse of Charles Plat a young man who died at his fathers in this place some two weeks since The text was Rev 14th 13th his discourse was good but too long 1½ hours I was not able to attend meeting afternoon nor Evening the paines in my back & limbs being so severe

*Aug. 30.* 11 Oc T Miller preached & I exorted text Psalms 5th 12th I bought a mule coll & paid cash in full at camp meeting for it seventy Dollars

*Sept. 7.* 8 Oc A M the hack called for me & Brother Hare & I started for Ottumwa to see our Col we arived at noon & took dinner with him found him & his family well

*Sept. 8.* 9 Oc A M Brother Hare took the cars at Ottumwa for his home in Keosauqua & at noon I took the cars at Ottumwa for Osk-



loosa & arrived at 2 Oc P M & I stoped at J M Byerses evening the Miss Byers'es Sarah & Anna & I called on Brother Wm Ketchums family found them well Brother Ketchum & us then went to the M E Church & heard a lecture by an agent of the Freedmans Aid Society

*Sept. 9.* A M. I Called on the Rev Dr Clipper & his Lady in Oskaloosa found them well I also saw Rev Hardy P E on that district. at noon I took the stage at Oskaloosa for Knoxville County Seat of Marion at 4 Oc P M we crossed the Desmoin River at Bellfountain 12 miles from Oskaloosa a poor place is bellfountain, at 7 Oc P M we arrived at Knoxville 26 miles from Oskaloosa & I put up at Hiram Ealeys the stage house evening I had an introduction to Gov Wm M Stone

*Sept. 10.* At 7 Oc A M I called on the Gouvernour Wm M Stone & had a short pleasant interview & accompanied him to the Court house in the City of Knoxville where the Republicans had a convention at noon I went again to the Ealey house & took dinner I had the pleasure of seeing several old friends among them Wilson Groom, at 1 Oc P M. I took the stage for Oskaloosa at 3½ Oc we arrived at Bellfountain, we changed horses & again started crossed the Desmoin River & at 6 Oc P M I arrived at J M Byers Oskaloosa, took tea & Miss Sarah P Byers & I called on Rev Dr Clipper & also on Brother Wm Ketchum

*Sept. 12.* 12½ Oc P M I took the Buss at J M Byerses Oskaloosa Maj J W McMullen was in charge of the Buss E P Tracy of the 7th Iowa was to have called for me in the morning but some girls prevailed on him to leave me until the noon train. At 4 Oc P M I arrived at Ottumwa & spent a pleasant evening at Capt Wm Mahons Fathers Miss Elizabeth & Miss Fanny Mahon sang some beautiful war songs & plaid elegantly on the Piano Forty I was quite feeble & remained there all night

*Sept. 13.* At 7 Oc I called on Col Kittridge of my Reg he was unwell & he thought it best for me not to go South in my presant state of health although he expressed some fear least I mite be mustered out at 9½ Oc I took the cars at Ottumwa & arrived home about 1 Oc P M. I was nearly worn out.

*Sept. 15.* The Vanburen Co fair commenced & there was a fine exhibition of stalk & home made manufactured goods in great varieties & also fruits granes vegetables &c afternoon I got into Brother Stephen Frazees wagon & rode home with him & staid this night

*Sept. 16.* At 8 Oc A M we started from Brother Frazees in his wagon his family & I for the fare & arrived between 10 & 11 Oc A M There was a fine exhibition of things & everything passed off pleasantly & seeing very many good friends & acquaintances but I became very weary, my Brother Augustuses two eldest Daughters & eldest son & Brother Washingtons son & Brother Kelys son came down to my house yesterday to attend the fair & left for Brother Augustuses this P M & at 4 Oc P M I started for Keokuk & took the Cars at 7 Oc & arrived at Keokuk about 9½ Oc night & I put up at the Dudley house nearly used up from the fatigue of the day. Our Lt Col F M Drake went

down on the cars to Keokuk with me. He put up at the Demming house he yet has to use one crutch he advised me not to go south until I got better or the wether got cool

*Sept. 17.* I visited the hospitals in Keokuk & attended the Anual conference of the M E Church Bishop Janes presideing at evening Rev F W Evans made a war speech at the Estes hospital there was quite a storm & a shower of raine & I felt to much wearied to attend

*Sunday, Sept. 18.* Variable & Cool at 7 Oc I called on Lt. Col F M Drake at the Demming house & met Dr C C Byser A S of the 17th Iowa there at 9 Oc Chaplain M H Hare & I went to love feast at 11 Oc A M Bishop Janes preached he Opened by singing the 306 hymn then read the 25th Psalm & 12 Ch of Hebrews then sang the 288th hymn text 53 Ch of Isaiah at 3 Oc P M Crane Editor fo the Central Ch Advocate preached an excellent sermon & at night we had an excellent experience meeting.

*Sept. 19.* At 7 Oc P M the appointments ware read out by Bishop Janes to the ministers at the annual conference of the M E Church & it was candlelighting when the conference adjurned. Brothers James Hanes, Robison F W Evans Cole & I took supper with Judge Thompson after which we went to the court house in Keokuk & heard war speeches by Rev Powers Coles Teters & F W Evans, all of which ware patriotic & telling ones

*Sept. 20.* I am quite unwell haveing been very sick through last night at 7½ Oc A M took the Cars & arived home at noon quite poorly at night I went to the Encampment of Odfellows by their solicitations

*Sept. 26.* At 8 Oc A M we left Brothers came by the way of Troy & Pittsburg & arived home at noon afternoon my Nephew Clay Pearson & I got in the buggy took our guns & rode over the River I killed & sent home 4 squirrels & killed 4 more & took with me to Brother Stephen Frazces Clay killed two & one wild goose or he broke its wing & it swam to the shore near me & I shot it in the head & killed it

*Sept. 27.* After noon J K Hornish of Keokuk the democrat nominee for congres from this district spoke in the court house there was 13 feemales & 53 males all told presant & about one fourth of them was loyal Linconites Hornace made a poor speech for his treasonable cause

*Sept. 30.* There was a meeting of the district Stewarts of the M E Ch at 2 Oc P M the Rev E L Briggs P Elder called the meeting & at candlelighting there was an Official meeting of the members of the Qr conference of this station at which time & place I was recommended to the anual conference for Deacons Orders.

*Oct. 5.* At 8 Oc A M the hack called for me & I got in & started for the Summit 11 Oc A M took the cars at Summit for Keokuk & arived at 2 Oc P M went to the hospital found some of my men found them improving & there is much feeling among the soldiers about the murdering of the two Provo Marshal Capt Bashore of Centerville Appanoose Co & Woodruff of Knoxville Iowa they were murdered in Powesheek Co on Saturday last by a band of Copperheads

*Oct. 6.* I visited the hospitals forenoon & at 2 Oc P M I crossed over from Keokuk & at 3 Oc P M took the cars at Hamilton Ill for Chicago & at 5 Oc we ware at the junction at ——— on the Keokuk Junction & we started & ran all night

*Oct. 7.* At 5½ Oc A M we arived in Chicago I went at once to Cousin Moses I Kelly's No 32 Quincy Street after breckfast I went to the conference of the M E Church & Capt Eli H Coddington & I received Deacons Orders by the hands of Bishop Calvin Kingsly afternoon I attended the conference a short time then M I Kelly & I took the street cars & went out to Ft Douglas & viewed the Reb prisoners about 8,000 I went up on the Union Observation & took a view of the lake, City & surroundings we then made the acquaintance of Capt C K Frankenfield of Dayton Pa he is in the 196 Pa Vol one hundred days men they are guarding Reb prisoners we next went up to the resting place of the lamented S A Douglas he sleeps on a beautiful elevation on the bank of the lake south of the city there is no stone yet to mark the spot. I put up this night at the Prescott house

*Oct. 8.* I attended Conference forenoon afternoon viewed the City & attended the Clark St Church & heard several relegeous discources to the Children of the City, evening attended the Conference room, & heard several missionary discourses & had a good time although I was very unwell, the wind being very high this day the scenery on the Lake was beautifull, I put up this night & got a room at the Paynes No. 20. en Quincy Street

*Sunday, Oct. 9.* At 9 Oc A M we had a conference Love feast & truly the Lord was with us, at 11 Oc A M Bishop Kingsly preached to a crowded house of attentive listners first hymn 163. first lesson 14 verses of the 42 Ch of Isaiah 2nd lesson 22 V of the 4 Ch of Luke Text Luke 19 Ch & 10 verse he preached the truth with with the Holy Ghost & with power I was to sick to attend meeting in the afternoon & at 9¼ Oc evening I took the Cars for Keokuk & left the proud city of Chicago

*Oct. 10.* At 9 Oc AM we arived at the Keokuk junction we had got breckfast at Mendota I was sick & vomited severely & at the junction I got another Cupof Coffee at 12 Oc noon we arived at Keokuk I took dinner at Cissans & put up for the night with Henry Barron of my Company I was very feeble

*Oct. 11.* At 7½ Oc A.M. I took the Cars at Keokuk for home & arived at noon found my children improved much in health since I had left home but my own health was not so good

*Oct. 12.* At noon I hitched to my buggy & took my Niece Ann Pearson home & at night Mrs Pearson & her daughter Maria & I attended a temperance lecture at Troy by Mrs ——— Shepherd a lady whose husband killed himself with drink She gave a very good lecture

*Oct. 13.* At 8 Oc A M I started from Brothers near Stringtown for home & came by the way of Troy & brought my niece Maria Pearson

*Oct. 14.* At 8 Oc A M I got in my buggy & took in Wm Minear

brother to my son inlaw & we went up to my river farm & on up to Brother Stephen Frazee & took dinner there & then we returned home by the way of Pittsburg

*Oct. 15.* I was very poorly all day & remained at home nearly all the day

*Sunday, Oct. 16.* At 9 Oc A M I attended Class meeting at 11 Oc Chaplain M H Hare of the 36th Iowa preached we took dinner at Brother Barnses at 3 Oc P M My children & I went to the graveyard & we had prayers at the mounds that covered my beloved departed wife & children at candlelighting I tryed to preach from Jobe 14th 14th v the Chaplain M H Hare closed after me

*Oct. 17.* At 9 Oc M H Hare Chaplain of the 36th Iowa Infy & I took leave of Our home & our friends & Started for the army at Little Rock Ark. Henry Grages took us out to the Summit Station in my buggy at 11 Oc A M we took the Cars & arived at Keokuk at 2 Oc P M we put up at the varanda house May McCrary & Chapla Jas W Latham of the 3rd Iowa Cav & ——— Skinner a commissionar to take the vote of ——— Iowa had also stoped there Chap Hare & I done a little tradeing & he was so feeble that the Sergeant Clever advised him to return home I went & saw some of the boys in hospital & the Chaplain & I & Chap I P Teter took tea with Rev E H Wareing who is in charge of the Chatham Square M E Church, they got up a recommendation & signed for me to go in as Chaplain in the army. I staid the night with Henry Barron a Private of my company

*Oct. 18.* At 7 Oc A M. I took passage on the steem Packet C Cheaver for St Louis, Judge H C Caldwell former Maj & then Col of the 3rd Iowa Cav, but now Judge of the State of Arkansas, is on board on his way to Little Rock Maj McCrary & Chaplain Latham of the 3rd Iowa Cav & commissioner Skinner & my old friend & neighbor of other days J N Lewis from Clark County Mo are all on board but my health has been so bad this day that I have but little comfort & all advise me to return home. I have no appetite

*Oct. 19.* The Mississippi River is very low & our boat moves carefully along she has two large Barges in tow they are freighted with potatoes It is now 8 Oc night & we are tyed up at Smiths landing Mo about 35 miles above St Louis, & it is rumored that we will lay here until morning the river is so low I have been very unwell all day

*Oct. 20.* At day break we losed cable at Smiths landing & at 11 Oc A M we landed at St Louis at 5 Oc P M I crossed to East St Louis & took the cars for Belleville Ills & arived at my Brotherinlaws Alex H Mullens at 7 Oc P M & found my friends all well

*Oct. 21.* At 8½ Oc A M Mrs A H Mullens & I got in their buggy & we went to Oliver Mullens found them well took dinner & had a plesant little visit & returned to Belleville by 6 Oc P M, I suffered severely with gripeing pains this day

*Oct. 22.* At 8 Oc A M Mrs A H Mullen & I got in buggy & we went out to David & Mrs Lydia Ogles & to Mr John Ruddock's son in



law's found the folks mostly well had a pleasant visit & returned by 5 Oc P M & I then called & took tea with Joseph Ogles Family in Belleville, there was quite a throng in Belleville on the account of the Great European Circus which I expect is a great American humbug.

*Sunday, Oct. 23.* At 7 Oc A M I took the Cars at Belleville for St Louis & at 11 Oc A M I attended the Union M E Church heard a good discourse by the paster Dr ——— from these words examine your selves know your own self &c my Old friend Elonza O Standard took Judge Caldwell & I home with him in his carriage & we had a pleasant time & we attended the same Church & had a good sermon from the Pastor text 18 v of the 119th Psalm I returned with friend Standard & spent the night pleasantly

*Oct. 24.* I spent the day in viewing the City, markets &c & put up at night at the Galt House on 4th St. Judge Caldwell & I roomed together, I was very tyred I bought me a gum Coat \$5.50

*Oct. 25.* I spent some time with E O Standard & some time with Charles S Kentzing wholesale Grocer on Corner of Vine & Levee Sts he is an old acquaintance & used to sell goods in Keosauqua Iowa Afternoon Judge H C Caldwell & I went on board the steamer Saint Cloud & took passage & secured state rooms to Duvall Bluff Arkansas I then bought the following bill of froot &c of Charles S Kentzing

3 Doz 2 lb cans	Peaches	\$13.50
1/4 " 3 " "	"	1.50
1 " 2 " "	Tomatoes	3.75
1/2 " 2 " "	Strawberrys	3.00
1 " 2 " "	Blackberys	5.50
1/2 " 2 " "	Peach Marmalade	3.00
1/2 " 2 " "	Oysters	6.00
1 bottle	Blackbery Brandy	75
		<hr/>
		37.00

*Oct. 26.* At Noon we loosed cable & left the Port of St Louis on the Saint Cloud for Duvall Bluff Ark at 3 Oc P M we struck a sand bar heavy but did not fasten we had some heavy thunder & sharp lightning this P M & before dark laid up just above the Herculanian Bar on which we see 4 steamers aground it is about 35 miles below St Louis I bought of C Kirkpatrick & Smith wholesale dealers in fruits & produce No 183 Morgan Broadway St Louis between Morgan & Cherry Sts

7 Barrels	Jennitan Apples	26.60
5 " "	small Red Romanite	24.00
		<hr/>
		50.60
Permit for Shipping		30

*Oct. 27.* We moved slowly along rubbing bottom & acasionally grounding & by night we arived at Turkey Island on which in early days was Fort Charter & here we tyed up for the night, I was quite poorly all day suffering severely with Rheumatism & Diareah

*Oct. 28.* At early day we loosed cable & started from Turkey Island we rubed the bottom in several places & at  $\frac{1}{4}$  to 8 Oc A M we struck & run over something supposed to be a log in the Channel & it broke a large hole in the hull of our boat the Saint Cloud, we ware  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{3}{4}$ th of a mile below St Genevieve & they run the boat to shore about one mile below & in sight of the town I was fortunate & my freight 12 bbls apples & canned fruit &c was all got off safe but Judge H C Caldwell got his library of law books wet we got his books out & opened the boxes & set them out on the tables in the cabbin the boat is in about 8 ft water we got out most of the boxes & several hundred bbls of flour before the boat filled & sunk, I was very feeble & after dark took very sick & vomited severely.

*Oct. 29.* Judge H C Caldwell spread his law library out in the sun to dry them, I was to sick to assist him any I had been sick all night vomiting & this day had a number of efforts to vomit but could raise nothing as I believe I had throwed all off ove my Stomac last night & before day this A. M. & this day I ate nothing the Captain of the boat Mr Davis gave me some medecine that settled my stomac some & I soaked my feet & legs in warm water with salt & musterd in it & I think it gave me some relief, the Judge was very kind & offered every assistance he could, but could only simpathize with me

*Sunday, Oct. 30.* At about 10 Oc A M the Steamer James White bound for New Orleans came down & they hailed him & Judge Caldwell & I took passage on him for Memphis Ten, the Judge lost his fine new boots somehow in reshipping & the Capt would not take my apples we got all the rest with us we rubbed bottom in many places & at night tyed up at Craforbs bar. I have been very sick all day & have suffered severely with rheumatism

*Oct. 31.* We got along very slow at day break they commenced drivieing the fat cattle off ove the James White & Soon we loosed cable & got down over Crawfords bar & got the cattle on again & started rubbing & sticking along until night when we tyed up at a woodyard about 15 miles above Cairo for the night & soon the Steamer J D Perry came down & rounded in & tyed up by us for the night I have had a very distressing time of it this day have been quite sick & have suffered dreadfully with Rheumatic paines

*Nov. 1.* At day break we loosed cable & started but ware soon fast aground but they sparrd off & run a little farther & landed & drove off the cattle & drove them around a bar & the boat crossed over landed & took on the cattle & at noon we ware at Cairo I hobbled up to head Qrs & reported got 2 bottles of pain killer & a box of Moffits pills & got on the boat She had out bills sayng it would start at 6 Oc P M for New Orleans but it was to deceive this had been a day of severe paine to me in every joint & the night is cold & raining hard, & my pain unabated

*Nov. 2.* We are yet at Cairo at about 1 Oc P M Maj Morey of the 18th Iowa & his brother inlaw Hamilton Sturgeon came on board they

are going to Little Rock Ark I have had a day & night of severe suffering paines in every joint & my right leg so swollen that I can scarcely get about at all & mentaly I have dark forbodings 1st Lieut Martin 15th U S A. D. has near 200 Colored troops in charge for Helena & 1st Lieut I W Robinson 56th U S Colored Reg stationed at Helena & he has just been home to Fairfield Iowa with the remains of his brother who was 2nd Lieut in the same Regt.

*Nov. 3.* Cloudy Cold & raining all day soon after daylight the James White loosed cable at Cairo & we started on our way Maj Moreys brotherinlaw went of the boat & got left, we passed on without harm & near noon ware at Columbus & after 3 Oc P M we passed Island No 10 & at about 4 Oc P M some 2 or 3 miles below No 10 Our boat struck what they supposed to be the Reck of the Reb Gun boat Grampus & ripped our boat open & in one minute we ware on the bottom in about 10 ft of water the boat was crowded with passengers & the commotion I will not attempt to discribe I believe no passengers were drowned but some 16 deck hands who ware in the hole asleep now are there in the Sleep of death, the deck passengers & colored soldiers got above & some got in the skift & got to shore, many of the hogs cattle & I guess all the sheep on board ware drowned at about 8 Oc night the Golden Eagle on her way down sounded too & just at the moment she was tyed to the White we ware fired into by gurrillas from the shore & then another undscribable scene of confusion occurred Women & children running in every direction & men equally confused I do not know that any one on either boat was hit but I fear that there was on the White as she lay between this boat & the shore At the time of the attack on us by the gurrillas there was yet some collered soldiers on the shore & I have no doubt but what they ware all killed. Lewis Dent a Brother of Mrs Genl U.S. Grant was with us he resides in St Louis there ware some  $\frac{1}{2}$  dozen Ladys & 2 or 3 gentlemen on their way South to teach the freed men & there was two young Ladies Clarra & Isabell Beal that had a slight acquaintance with me haveing seen me at Mr David Ogles in Ill & when I was about to leave the White they clung to my arms & weeping pled with me to stay with them but I was almost helpless with Rheumatism but their intreaties caused me to weep & truly it was a time to try mens souls, John I Parmer was the government Aid with us.

*Nov. 4.* At day break the Steamer Golden Eagle loosed cable at New Madrid where we had landed near midnight last night, & once more we started on our way & on we came bumping along & keeping up fun for us by exciteing the croud had just been wrecked; & boats up telling us to be on the lookout for gurrilers & especily about Ft. Pillow which place we passed just before dark, and we ware all glad of that I had some severe rheumatic pains this day

*Nov. 5.* Before day out boat had to cast anchor some 10 miles above Memphis Ten for the heavy fog & it was sunrise before she could see

to run, we arrived at Memphis between 7 & 8 Oc A M. Col Noble<sup>33</sup> & some others of the 3rd Iowa Cav came on board to see us. Judge Caldwell went off & selected the steamer St Patrick for us to go on to the mouth of White River & we had our things at once taken on board of her & at noon we left the port of Memphis & passed on without any serious mishap to this boat at about 4 Oc P M a horse jumped overboard & swam to shore & they had to stop the boat & get him on again Col Wm Fishback who was Electe to the Senate of the U S by the legislature of Ark is on board with us on his way home to Little Rock Ark

*Sunday, Nov. 6.* We passed Helena before day this morning & they only stoped long enough to report, we reached the mouth of White river at 4 Oc P M. & learn that Genl Canby was wounded on a gun boat up White river this A M by a gurrillar concealed on shore & they did not see him there was but the one shot fired & it wounded him in his thigh &c not dangerous wound

*Nov. 7.* At 11 Oc we shipped on to the steamer Shamrock for Devall Bluff & 7 Cos of the 8th Ills Inftry veterans under command of their Maj Floyd Wheaton a thorough union man Soon after dark we loosed cable & started up White River there had been some 3 boats loaded with soldiers went up this P.M.

*Nov. 8.* We moved on steadily up White River without any mishap I suffered severely with Rheumatism Senator Wm Fishback of Arkansas & Rev Wm Stout of Dardinell & Dr Luther C White of Vanburen both State Senitors are on board with us on their way to the Rock to assemble with the legislature who ware to have met yesterday The Government Aid Mr Ellis Gregg from St Louis is with us he was born & Raised in Chester Co. Pa & is acquainted with many of my friends & we had a pleasant time together being old chips of the trade of Plasters

*Nov. 9.* At 1 Oc A M we cast anchor about 2 miles above Clarendon on White River & there was a very heavy raine & severe wind, & at day break we started again up the river & arrived at Devall Bluff at noon but could not get our things to the cars in time to take the train for Little Rock at night we had our things put on the cars & we took supper & logging on the Steamer

*Nov. 10.* Clear & pleasant we took breckfast on the Steamer & at ½ past 6 Oc A M got on the cars and at 7 Oc A M we left Devall Bluff for Little Rock & arrived at noon & I had the pleasure of imbracing my son Amandus & am greatfull to find him in good health. & find him having the confidence & respects of the officers I got my trunks over all safe & I was very cordially received by the Officers & men of my Regt & also heartily welcomed back by some of the citizens whos ac-

<sup>33</sup>John Willock Noble, first lieutenant Third Iowa Cavalry, 1861; major, 1862; colonel, 1864; brevet brigadier-general, 1865; secretary of the interior, 1889-93.



quaintance I had made the past year especily Rev Ed Crowl & wife & Capt Vance & family. I spent the night with my son

*Nov. 11.* I forwarded to head qrs a request to go immediately before the examining committy in regard to my leave of absence I spent the day among the Officers & men & citizens pleasantly as I could expect with the paine I suffered from Rhecumatism, Amandus & I spent the evening with Rev Crowl & he would have me promise to Call & take tea with them tomorrow evening I am proud of the vote of our Regt they cast 237 votes & Lincoln got 233 & McClellan 4 votes three of them at the hospital

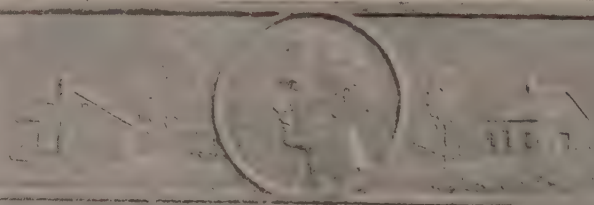
*Nov. 12.* I took dinner with the Officers of the 40th Iowa, Field Stalf & line, I called on Col Benton of the 29th & spent a pleasant  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour & also on Rev Oliver Williams of 29th at the Ordinance department, & I also called on Mrs Chittinden Sanitary agent from Keosauqua Iowa I called & took tea with Rev Edw Crowl & brother Moshier of the 18th Ill. Infy Our Col C W Kittredge arived this day from Iowa & the evening I spent with him, Maj Hamilton & Judge II C Caldwell. The Rev S F C Garrison Chaplain of the 40th Iowa took me to the 77th Ohio Infy & introduced me to Rev James T Holiday Chaplain of the 77th Ohio they are both Methodist ministers

*Sunday, Nov. 13.* 11 Oc my son & I attended the union M E Church in the City of Little Rock the Rev Fleehearty of Moline Ill preached from 2nd Corinthian 5th Ch & last clause of the 19th v we took dinner with Rev John Payton & at 3 Oc we attended a general speaking meeting in the Colored M E Church & at the opening of the meeting there was a couple of colored people married by a colored minister name Wallace Andrews & they had a powerful meeting at candlelighting we attended the union M E Church in the City & I tried to preach to a crouded house, from John 5th Ch & 39 verse there ware many of the senitors Legislators & army Officers & several Chaplains presant but the best of all the Lord was with us.

*Nov. 14.* At 9 Oc A. M. I went to the Head Qrs of the 40th Iowa Col S F Cooper of the 40th Iowa Maj A H Hamilton of the 36th Iowa & Capt ——— of the 77th Ohio ware the committy to examine Officers who had been absent beyond their leave, they organised & adjurned until tomorrow

*Nov. 15.* I was before the examining Committy in regard to my leave of absence & Judge Caldwell was presant Capt John Lambert Co K 36th Iowa Infy & I commenced messing together,

*Nov. 16.* At 10 Oc the inspection of the 36th Iowa was conducted by Capt Barnes of the 27th Wisconsin Infantry vols after my inspection I rode out to the Refuge Camp in a wagon & got brick for a Chimney to my tent I suffered severely with Rheumatism. Major Morey of the 18th Iowa & his Brotherinlaw David Sturgeon called to see me



B F CARROLL  
FIRST NATIVE BORN  
GOVERNOR OF IOWA  
EIGHTH SON AND TWELFTH  
CHILD OF WILLIS AND  
CHRISTENA WRIGHT CARROLL  
BORN MARCH FIFTEENTH  
1860 IN THEIR HOME SOUTH  
56° EAST 2107 FEET FROM  
THIS STONE

ERECTED 1925 BY THE  
HISTORICAL  
MEMORIAL AND ART  
DEPARTMENT OF IOWA

Tablet erected at the birthplace of Governor B. F. Carroll.

# ANNALS OF IOWA

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## EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

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### NATIVE IOWA GOVERNORS

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In its effort to stimulate in the minds of the Iowa public a respect for civil leadership, the Historical, Memorial and Art Department has for some years exerted its strength and laid out small amounts of money toward fixing by monument and tablet the importance of conspicuous personages, places and events. In our community of two and one-half million people families seldom feel rooted to the soil. The soil itself, through its inherent alterations in value beyond any precedent in rural history is not congenial to traditions. Little is possible to do as yet to permanently fix the attention of one generation upon subjects of admiration of preceding peoples.

In eighty years Iowa has had in the chief executive office, twenty-four persons of whom three only were born in Iowa—Carroll in Davis County, Harding in Osceola County, and Kendall in Lucas County. All of them had removed from their native counties when they were advanced to our most exalted station. Each was born in a country habitation erected on virgin soil. Each attended country school, and attributes to that influence a great part of his success.

Of our twenty-one United States Senators, only three were born in Iowa, Lafayette Young in Monroe County, Charles E. Rawson in Polk County, and Daniel F. Steck in Wapello County. Only Steck and Rawson were advanced from the counties of their birth. Rawson yet lives under the very roof where his birth occurred.

Fifty years ago in the country schools of Iowa the pupil, teacher, and parent felt there was a wide gulf between him and the governor of Iowa. The office seemed a holy place and the incumbent an exalted character. The years seem to have brought a tendency toward public disregard of the dignity of the office.

The tenor of the public press seems to be leveling down in the popular mind the eminences of public life. Yet of her native governors all were farm born and country bred.

We have felt that it would contribute to the public good if we would put up in Iowa at appropriate points permanent markers among the people that will tend to establish the conviction that our state is governed by those who by birth and breeding are essentially as those they govern, and hence of like probity if of greater power. Democracy for ages has been an ideal. To realize that it is here that it actually exists has been almost as difficult as its establishment. To celebrate its existence and to promote a realization of it in the public thought through appropriate and imperishable form and text in granite and bronze, is fairly within the scope and purpose of this institution and is one of our chief ends.

In conformity with this thought this department designed, and on September 6, 1926, dedicated the tablet marking the birthplace of former Governor B. F. Carroll, as shown in the accompanying illustration. Tablets to mark the birthplaces of Governors Harding and Kendall are in course of preparation.

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### THE NAME "LACEY-KEOSAUQUA STATE PARK"

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As warrant for applying the name Lacey to Keosauqua State Park we have to suggest:

Much has been said of the pioneering of Major John F. Lacey in circles usually slow to give attention to science or sentiment. But there is a more substantial reason for applying the name of Lacey to the large state park in Van Buren County, notwithstanding there are in Mahaska County in which Major Lacey lived areas which equal or excel it. If the state ever fully pays its debt to Major Lacey these Mahaska County areas will be retrieved from destructive forces and will ultimately receive the name of John F. Lacey.

In the initial period of the Board of Conservation the Curator of the Historical Department served as chairman of the committee to name parks. Doctor Pammel was his associate. Doc-



tor Pammel submitted and moved the report of the committee fixing the name "The Lacey-Keosauqua State Park."

When Iowa was admitted to the Union December 28, 1846, it had been by Congress divided into two congressional districts, substantially like the two present federal district court jurisdictions. The first congressman from the southern, or First, Iowa District, was Syranus C. Hastings, a Democrat, of Bloomington, renamed Muscatine. The district embraced both Van Buren and Mahaska counties and remained unchanged through the succession of Hastings by William Thompson, a Democrat, of Mount Pleasant; Daniel F. Miller, a Whig, of Fort Madison; Bernhart Henn, a Democrat, of Fairfield; Augustus Hall, a Democrat, of Keosauqua; Samuel R. Curtis of Keokuk, and James F. Wilson of Fairfield, both Republicans. Wilson was elected representative in 1862 when the two Iowa districts were reformed into six districts, Van Buren County remaining in the First, and Mahaska falling into the Fourth.

Major Lacey's birth occurred in 1841 in what is now West Virginia. He was of the purest and most valiant colonial stock. With his parents he removed to Mahaska County when it was part of the old First Iowa District. He was then fifteen years of age. In Mahaska County and in the First Iowa Congressional District he matured his education, discovered his literary and artistic instincts, and studied law in the office of Attorney General Samuel A. Rice of Oskaloosa. With Rice as his colonel he entered the Civil War at twenty. He gave full and loyal service for almost the whole period of that conflict. So the Lacey nature was impressed the most during the time when Mahaska was one and Van Buren another unit of the old First Iowa Congressional District. He was as much the beneficiary of First District traditions and examples as were the men who later represented the present First while he represented the Sixth Iowa District. It is not surprising then that in Lacey's congressional career he found it easy to be in harmony with First District congressmen. Brought up in the school of affairs of James F. Wilson and his First District predecessors, he was largely one in thought and action with those later representing the First District, namely, George W. McCrary, M. A. McCoid, John H. Gear, Sam M.

Clarke, and Thomas Hedge, Republicans. And he merely encountered in Congress his boyhood friends as adversaries, in the Democrats, Hall and Seerley.

In 1862, then, when the state was made from two into six districts, Mahaska County fell into the Fourth. Young Lacey, with mounting courage, supported for Congress Josiah B. Grinnell, Republican, from Grinnell; William Loughridge, Republican, from Oskaloosa; and Madison M. Walden, Republican, from Centerville, of the Fourth District—a ten-year period which carried through and effectually closed the congressional history of the Civil War.

In 1873 the second change in Iowa congressional districts occurred. Nine congressional districts from the previous six were made. Mahaska County was put in the Sixth District where it has ever since remained. Lacey was a force from the very first. William Loughridge was again returned from Mahaska County, this time in the new Sixth District, a Republican lawyer. Ezekiel S. Sampson was twice elected, a Republican lawyer from Sigourney. James B. Weaver was then elected and served one term as a Greenbacker, a lawyer from Bloomfield. M. E. Cutts, a Republican lawyer of Oskaloosa, was elected to succeed Weaver, but his seat was contested and awarded to John C. Cook, Democrat lawyer of Newton. Cutts was a second time elected, but died in office and John C. Cook by election succeeded him. Then Weaver, now a Democrat, served two terms, to be displaced in the first election of Major Lacey. It was a transient victory. After one term Major Lacey was defeated by Frederick E. White, Keokuk County Democrat farmer. Lacey then defeated White in 1892, and continued his service by re-election in the Congress until 1907.

The collateral relation of Major Lacey is of great interest. There need be named but the period from '95 to '99, the only two congresses in which Iowa representation has remained unchanged. Sam M. Clarke represented the First District, George M. Curtis the Second, David B. Henderson the Third, Thomas Updegraff the Fourth, Robert G. Cousins the Fifth, John F. Lacey the Sixth, John A. T. Hull the Seventh, William P. Hepburn the Eighth, Alva L. Hager the Ninth, Jonathan P. Dolliver the

Tenth, and George D. Perkins the Eleventh. This was the era of the war with Spain. Iowa in Washington in this period, or growing out of it, had the speaker, Henderson. In the Cabinet were Shaw and "Tama Jim" Wilson. In the Senate Allison, Gear, and then Dolliver. In the Smithsonian Institution W J Magee and Dr. Charles A. White. Two other lifelong scientific friends of Mahaska County in New York were William T. Hornaday and George K. Cherry, who was with Roosevelt on the River of Doubt, and with Roosevelt's sons the present year on the Asian Roof. Two other figures are enough to suggest the effective view of "the Iowa group"—John F. Dillon of the New York bar, and Grenville M. Dodge of the railroad world.

Acts of Congress accredited to Major Lacey and executive orders of like tenor were talked out of evenings in the home of Allison, and elsewhere cordial meetings were held, actually attended by the men named, and often by others. The migratory bird laws, the national parks and monuments, and the transfer of conservation functions to James Wilson's Department of Agriculture came out of these meetings as is revealed by correspondence of these and other leaders of the time which the Historical Department possesses.

It is most appropriate then that the Van Buren County park is named in memory and to the honor of John F. Lacey.

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### HIGH WATER IN 1858

From all parts of the state we receive accounts of swollen rivers and great difficulties in traveling. The stage from Iowa City was brought last Friday to a perplexing pause on the bank of Skunk river, and many hours elapsed before the mail could be *rafted* to the west side. It is stated that Skunk River has never been known hitherto to take such an impetuous splurge; and many other streams—among which are those respectable dignitaries, the Coon and Des Moines—have gone up to a bewildering elevation. Occurrences of this kind are somewhat singular in the latitude of Iowa during the winter.—*The Iowa Citizen*, Des Moines, February 2, 1858. (In the newspaper collection of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa.)

## NOTABLE DEATHS

WILBUR SCOTT CONKLING was born in Henry County, Iowa, September 17, 1873, and died in Des Moines, Iowa, June 11, 1926. His parents were William W. and Mary Frances Conkling. He obtained his early education in the public schools of Mount Pleasant, in Howe's Academy, and in Iowa Wesleyan University, after which he took a business course in Highland Park College, Des Moines, was graduated in pharmacy from Drake University in 1895, and from the Medical Department of the same institution in 1897. He had enlisted March 18, 1896, as a private in Company H, Third Regiment, Iowa National Guard, and April 8, 1898, was transferred to the Hospital Corps. He was appointed hospital steward of the Fifty-first Regiment, Iowa Volunteers, April 26, 1898, and embarked from San Francisco, November 3, 1898, for the Philippine Islands, was appointed first lieutenant and assistant surgeon of the Fifty-first February 27, 1899, was mustered out of the United States service November 2, 1899, and arrived at Des Moines with members of the regiment November 6, 1899. The following December he left for the East and took post-graduate work in Philadelphia and New York City, returning to Des Moines in January, 1900, and entering the practice of medicine. In January, 1901, he was appointed county physician of Polk County, which position he held several years. On April 11, 1900, he was appointed first lieutenant and assistant surgeon, Fifty-first Regiment, Iowa National Guard, and was promoted to major and surgeon of Fifty-fifth Regiment May 16, 1906. He reported at the duty call of the President of June 18, 1916, on June 20, and was mustered into United States service June 26, went on duty on the Mexican border, and was mustered out February 23, 1917. He again reported at the duty call of the President of July 3, 1917, on July 15, and was mustered into the United States service July 20. His regiment, the One Hundred and Sixty-eighth, sailed for France November 14, 1917. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Medical Corps March 7, 1919, and was honorably discharged May 31, 1919, having been commanding officer of the sanitary detachment of his regiment from its embarkation to September 2, 1918, and commanding officer of the One Hundred and Seventeenth Sanitary Train from September 3, 1918, to April 25, 1919, and having been with his commands on the front in the engagements at Baccarat, at Luneville, and in the sectors of Champagne-Marne, Aisne-Marne, St. Mihiel, and Meuse-Argonne. On July 15, 1921, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the Medical Corps, Iowa National Guard, and on September 30, 1921, was appointed lieutenant colonel of the Medical Corps of the Officers Reserve Corps. His death occurred from pleurisy engendered by exposure to mustard gas while on the front in France. His service both in a military and professional way, was of the highest order.



GEORGE WORTH SCHEE was born near Alexandria, Missouri, June 15, 1847, and died at National City, California, February 9, 1926. Burial was at Primghar, Iowa. His parents were Arnold and Martha Schee. He early became an orphan and was reared at the home of an uncle. He removed to Mahaska County, Iowa, in 1861. He enlisted in Company C, Thirty-third Iowa Infantry, March 21, 1864. On July 12, 1865, he was transferred to the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-eighth Iowa Infantry Consolidated, and was mustered out August 15, 1865, at Houston, Texas. In 1871 he removed to O'Brien County and entered and later proved up on a United States homestead in Carroll Township, that county. He went through all the pioneer hardships and experiences of those years in that vicinity, his principal occupations being farming and school-teaching. He was a leader in the struggle of the settlers to adjust the payment of a debt imposed on the county almost in its beginning. He served as county auditor from 1875 to 1878 inclusive. He was admitted to the bar in 1881, but never entered into general practice. He was elected representative in 1883, 1885, 1908 and 1910, serving in the Twentieth, Twenty-first, Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth general assemblies. Commencing near the time he left the office of county auditor he engaged in the loan business, handling money for loan companies, and built up a large and lucrative business, and became the owner of some 3,000 acres of land in Iowa, and about 1,000 acres in Minnesota.

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GEORGE KUHN was born near Andalusia, Rock Island County, Illinois, August 26, 1861, and died in Des Moines, Iowa, January 13, 1926. His parents were Weaver Potter and Ophelia (McDowell) Kuhns. He attended grammar school at Andalusia, high school at Reynolds, Illinois, and was three years in Iowa Agricultural College, Ames. While there he was commissioned captain by Governor Sherman as an instructor in military tactics at the college. On leaving college he entered the employment of a lumber company at Clinton, and later with the Walker Lumber Company, Pratt, Kansas. He began life insurance work at Sioux City in 1890 with the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company of Philadelphia. He was first associated with the Bankers Life Insurance Company of Des Moines in 1897 as legislative agent. He became field manager in 1900, second vice president and field manager in 1912, and president in 1916, remaining in that position until his death. During the World War he was named by the secretary of the United States Treasury as director for the Middle West in the campaign to sell government life insurance to members of the Army and Navy. He was an ardent lover of outdoor recreation—golfing, fishing and big game hunting, having fished and hunted over the United States, Mexico, and Canada. As a life insurance executive he became an outstanding figure, lead in placing the Bankers Life among the few great companies west of the Mississippi River, and helped Des Moines to become the great insurance center of the West.

JOSEPH G. HOBSON was born near Bartlett, Washington County, Ohio, April 12, 1848, and died at Sioux City, Iowa, February 21, 1926. His parents were Stephen and Lydia (Watt) Hobson, Quakers (Friends). In his boyhood he attended during winters Friends' primary school near his home. Later he attended Bartlett Academy, and from there went to the National Normal School at Lebanon, Ohio, from which he was graduated. He taught school in Ohio for several years, then removed to Howard Lake, Minnesota, where he and a brother conducted a store. In 1884 he taught at Hawarden, Iowa. He obtained a position in Webster School, Sioux City, in 1885, and removed to that city. Six years later he became principal of Worcester School, Sioux City, and retained this position for thirty-five years, or until his death. He was one of the organizers of Wall Street Mission, Sioux City, and led in its development, becoming president of its board of trustees. The mission grew into an important community center, and recently a \$35,000 structure was erected, to which he and his wife contributed \$10,000. He assisted in other activities, religious, social and educational, and exerted an unusual influence for good, especially among the boys in his portion of the city. Since his death the name of the school in which he served so long has been changed from Worcester to Hobson.

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JAMES D. GLASGOW was born in Jackson Township, Washington County, Iowa, August 23, 1866, and died in Des Moines, Iowa, April 22, 1926. Burial was at Washington, Iowa. His parents were Robert B. and Matilda (Campbell) Glasgow. He was educated in country schools and the Washington Academy. He studied medicine with Dr. A. A. Rodman of Washington, became a pharmacist in the Rodman drug store, and later purchased the store and conducted it many years. He enlisted as a private in Company D, Second Regiment Infantry, Iowa National Guard, May 4, 1885. He received promotions until June 26, 1896, when he became a major in the Second Regiment, but at the time of the Spanish-American War he was unable to pass the physical examination and received an honorable discharge. He was for a time a member of the Washington City Council, for six years was mayor of the city, served as president of the Iowa League of Municipalities, was president of the local Red Cross organization, and was active in church and fraternal organizations. In 1916 he was elected clerk of the District Court of Washington County and by reason of re-elections served for nearly eight years, resigning in 1924 to become inheritance tax examiner in the office of the treasurer of state at Des Moines, which position he continued to hold until his death.

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DR. JAMES TAGGART PRIESTLEY was born at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, July 19, 1852, and died in Des Moines, Iowa, December 11, 1925. His parents were Marks B. and Mary Taggart Priestley. His great-grandfather, Joseph Priestley, D. D., an eminent divine, philosopher,

and scientist of England, immigrated to Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1794 and achieved fame throughout the scientific world as the discoverer of oxygen gas. James Taggart Priestley was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1874 and began the practice of medicine in his home town. In 1876 he removed to Des Moines and entered the practice there which he continued almost continuously until his death. In 1881 he was appointed surgeon of the Third Regiment, Iowa National Guard, with the rank of major. In 1885 he became surgeon of the First Brigade, and from 1894 to 1902 he was surgeon general. He kept well abreast of the progress of medical science, achieved prominence in his profession, was president of the Iowa State Medical Society in 1900, and was a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Medical Society from 1894 to 1900.

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MICHAEL VALENTINE GANNON was born in Dublin, Ireland, February 14, 1846, and died at Davenport, Iowa, March 7, 1926. His parents were Michael and Catherine (O'Brien) Gannon. In 1866 he immigrated to the United States, coming to Davenport, Iowa. For a few years he taught school in Rock Island. In the early seventies he established and edited the *Catholic Advocate*. In 1873 he was admitted to the bar and began practice in Davenport. In 1877 he was elected a member of the Davenport City Council. In 1878 he was the Democratic nominee for clerk of the Supreme Court. In 1882 he was elected district attorney for the Seventh Judicial District and served for the following four years. In 1884 he was the Democratic candidate for attorney general of the state. In 1887 he removed to Omaha, Nebraska, and a few years thereafter to Chicago, Illinois, and became a noted figure at the bar of that city. In 1905 he returned to Davenport and was in partnership in the practice with A. P. McGuirk. In 1891 he became president of the Irish National Land League, an organization of national scope whose purpose was to render assistance to the people of Ireland in acquiring from landlords the ownership of the lands they had so long occupied. Mr. Gannon was an orator of brilliance and power.

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JOHN ROBERT SMITH was born at Roxbury, Delaware County, New York, January 27, 1838, and died in Eagle Grove, Iowa, March 19, 1926. He was a son of Robert and Jeannette Lyle Smith. He attended common school and Delaware Literary Institute, taught school two years, and for many years followed cattle buying. In 1881 he removed to Wright County, Iowa, and with his brother, W. C. Smith, engaged in the cattle business. In 1890 he became cashier of the State Bank of Eagle Grove, continuing as such until 1905. In 1906 he was elected representative, and was re-elected in 1908, serving in the Thirty-second and Thirty-third general assemblies. He also served as city treasurer of Eagle Grove, and as a member of the Board of Education.

JOHN W. WRIGHT was born at Oskaloosa, Iowa, May 4, 1860, and died at Knoxville, February 23, 1926. His parents were Quakers, Dillon and Susanna (Frazier) Wright. He attended common school, intermittently, until twelve years of age, went through the primary grades, and then began work as a coal miner's helper in winter, and a brickyard laborer in summer. In 1879 he removed to Knoxville, continuing his labor in coal mines and brickyards. Having been deprived largely of school privileges, he was all these years pursuing self education. In 1887 he took charge of the "Questions and Answers" department of the *Des Moines Leader*, and of a similar department of the *American Rural Home*, both of which he continued for over twenty years. In 1888 he also took the editorship of the "Notes for the Curious" department of the *St. Louis Republic*. This he continued for over ten years, and also did regular editorial work for the *Sunday Republic* for three years, 1895-97. From 1901 until his death he was connected with the *Knoxville Journal* as news editor, and also did feature writing for it, and for many years contributed "Nature Snap Shots." He was a life student of nature, science, and of many departments of human knowledge, and was a prolific writer. He was author of "Christ in Myth and Legend," Cranston & Curtis, Cincinnati, 1894, and was supervising editor of "Marion County History," S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, 1915. Being deeply interested in historical and scientific subjects, he became a collector along these lines and left a museum of much value and interest.

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BEN EDWARDS was born in Scranton, Pennsylvania, May 19, 1864, and died at Ames, Iowa, January 31, 1926. His parents removed with their family to Beacon, Mahaska County, Iowa, in 1873, and to a farm in Carroll County in 1875. Ben was educated in common school and on reaching manhood followed farming until 1889, when he removed to Dedham and entered the hardware business. After several years he sold this business and engaged in general merchandising in Carrollton. In 1905 he removed to Ames and became superintendent of the state college grounds and buildings. In 1910 he entered the coal and ice business. While at Dedham he served as township trustee, as a member of the town council, and as mayor, and at Ames he was a city councilman. In 1915 he was elected senator and served in the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth general assemblies.

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ALBERT G. STEWART was born in Green County, Wisconsin, March 1, 1854, and died in Chicago, Illinois, March 2, 1926. Burial was at Waukon, Iowa. He removed to Waukon in 1875, studied law with H. H. Stillwell and was admitted to the bar in 1876. He became partner of C. S. Stillwell in January, 1877, but two years later bought his partner's interest. In 1880 he became attorney for the board of supervisors of Allamakee County and held the position several years. He also served



as mayor and as city attorney of Waukon. From 1879 to 1882 he was chairman of the Republican County Central Committee. He was captain of Company I, Fourth Regiment, Iowa National Guard, from August 8, 1881, to November 28, 1885, and was colonel of the regiment from November 28, 1885, to 1892, when the regiment was reorganized, becoming the First Regiment. However, he served again as captain of Company I, First Regiment, which later became the Forty-ninth, from June 24, 1897, to May 13, 1899, when he was mustered out at Savannah, Georgia. He resumed the practice of law at Waukon, but in his later years resided in Chicago.

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CHRISTOPHER H. BERG was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, March 15, 1841, and died in Dubuque, Iowa, April 9, 1926. In 1852 his parents with their family removed to Galena, Illinois. As a boy he was in turn newspaper carrier, bellboy, and printer, learning his trade in the office of the *Galena Gazette*, and becoming its foreman. In 1862 he volunteered in Company A, Ninety-sixth Illinois Infantry, and served three years, being in all the principal battles of his regiment. In 1866 he became foreman of the *Dubuque Times*. In 1868 he helped organize the company known as Palmer (William A.), Winall (Samuel) & Co., printers and bookbinders, which later became Palmer, Berg & Co., and still later, Berg & Briggs. He was in the printing business fifty-four years. For some thirty years his time was largely devoted to banking. He became president of the Union Trust and Savings Bank, and was also interested in other Dubuque banks. He was a Republican in politics, and was elected alderman from the Fourth Ward in 1896, and mayor in 1898, serving in that position eight years. He was locally prominent in Grand Army, in Odd Fellow, and other fraternal organizations.

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PORTER W. BURR was born at Mercer, Maine, February 1, 1852, and died at Charles City, Iowa, September 28, 1925. In 1867 he came with his parents, L. N. and Mary B. (Wiley) Burr, to Davenport, Iowa, was graduated from Griswold College, Davenport, in 1872, and from the Law Department of the State University of Iowa in 1873. He was in a law office in Lincoln, Nebraska, a year and then located at Nora Springs, Iowa, and formed a partnership with W. P. Gaylord as Gaylord & Burr for the practice of law. In 1876 he was elected clerk of courts for Floyd County and was re-elected in 1878. In January, 1881, he engaged in practice in Charles City. In March of that year he was elected mayor, and in 1882 city attorney, in which office he served several terms. In 1892 he was elected a judge of the Twelfth Judicial District, but at the end of a four year term, declined renomination, preferring to return to general practice. He stood high in his profession and as a citizen. In 1907 he was stricken with paralysis which rendered him an invalid for the remaining eighteen years of his life.

THEODORE C. BLUME was born in Marshall County, Illinois, December 10, 1861, and died in the Denison, Iowa, Hospital October 18, 1925. Burial was in the Morgan Township, Crawford County, cemetery. His parents were Charles and Amelia (Girard) Blume. He attended common school, came with his parents to Crawford County in 1880, was graduated from the Dexter Normal College in 1881, and after that was a student in Drake University. In 1884 he began teaching, which he followed for twelve years, being an instructor in Greer College, Hoopes-ton, Illinois, from 1891 to 1894, and superintendent of schools of Dyersville, Iowa, from 1894 to 1895. In 1895 he located on the Blume family homestead in Hanover Township, Crawford County, and engaged in farming. He was elected representative in 1897 and was re-elected two years later, serving in the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth general assemblies. He was again elected representative in 1922 and served in the Fortieth and the Fortieth Extra General Assembly. He was for several years president of the Crawford County Farmers' Union, also served the Union in several other important positions, and was a citizen of great usefulness. He affiliated with the Democratic party.

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FREDERICK O'DONNELL was born in Illinois in 1846, and died in Dubuque, Iowa, September 10, 1925. But little is known of his early life excepting that his mother was a widow and he was raised by Dr. J. C. Ware, a physician of Fairfield, Iowa. In 1861 he ran off to Missouri and enlisted in the Union Army. He was with Mulligan's Brigade when it was captured by Price at Lexington, Missouri, September 20, 1861, and was paroled and returned home. He read law with Slagle & Acheson of Fairfield and in about 1866 located in Dubuque and entered practice, becoming a member of the firm of Wilson, Mulkern & O'Donnell. In 1869 he was elected representative, was re-elected in 1871, and elected again in 1879, serving in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Seventeenth general assemblies. In 1882 he was elected mayor of Dubuque, and was re-elected in 1883. He attained success as a lawyer and was elected a judge of the District Court and served for sixteen years, from 1891 to 1906. He was a man of culture, was eloquent, and courteous in manner. The last few years of his life he lived in retirement. He was a Democrat in politics.

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THOMAS McCULLOCH GOBBLE was born at Abington, Iowa, April 2, 1846, and died in Clinton, January 31, 1926. His parents were Thomas Wilson and Mary McCulloch Gobble. He attended common school, received private instruction, and was graduated from the Bryant & Stratton Business College in Chicago in 1866. He followed the vocation of bookkeeper, first in a general store in Fairfield and afterward in the John McWilliams wholesale grocery in Des Moines. He removed to Muscatine in 1875. In 1880 he and his brother, John M. Gobble, became partners in conducting a wholesale grocery firm. In 1884 he sold his

interest, removed to Clinton and established the wholesale grocery firm of T. M. Gobble & Co., which he continued to direct most successfully until the time of his death. In 1890, and again in 1896, he was elected mayor of Clinton, and served each time for two years. In 1896 he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. He was a leading lay member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was a prominent member of the Masonic order, and a very useful and influential citizen.

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WILLIAM HUTCHINSON was born in Coshocton, Ohio, December 29, 1850, and died at a hospital in Waukesha, Wisconsin, December 22, 1925. Burial was at Orange City, Iowa. In 1857 he was brought by his parents as they removed to Poweshiek County, Iowa, where they settled on wild land and went through pioneer experiences. William did his share of labor, but attended country school in winters. When nineteen years old he entered Oskaloosa College and attended a part of two years. Then for three winters he taught country school, read law at home, and later read in the office of Ballard & Hall of Montezuma, and was admitted to the bar in 1878. Soon thereafter he began practice at Montezuma, but in 1882 located at Orange City, entering into partnership with Bell & Palmer, but in a short time removed to Calliope, practicing there alone. For four years he was attorney for the town. In 1886 he was elected county attorney, being the first county attorney of Sioux County. By reason of re-elections he held the office until 1896 when Governor Drake appointed him district judge to succeed Scott M. Ladd who had been elected to the Supreme Court. Not long after going on the bench he removed to Alton, because of better railroad service there. He served honorably and ably as district judge twenty-nine years, or until his death. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church, was grand master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Iowa in 1912, and contributed in many ways to the welfare of the public. Late in his life he wrote an admirable autobiography, which was published shortly after his death in the *Alton Democrat*.

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HORACE RAY CHAPMAN was born at Monticello, Iowa, January 30, 1873, and died at Bennett, February 1, 1926. The body was placed in a mausoleum at Maquoketa. He was graduated from Monticello High School, attended Cornell College, Mount Vernon, for three years, and in 1901 was graduated from the Medical Department of the State University of Iowa. The same year he began the practice of medicine at Bennett. For eight years he was a member of the school board and was twice mayor of the town. He removed to Durant and engaged in the drug business in connection with the practice of medicine. He was mayor of Durant in 1908, but the same year he was elected senator and served in the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth assemblies. In 1908 he resumed his residence at Bennett.

JOHN B. SULLIVAN was born at Afton, Iowa, December 9, 1869, and died in Des Moines September 21, 1925. His parents were Edward F. and Elizabeth Guthridge Sullivan. He attended public school at Afton, and later St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kansas, was graduated from the Collegiate Department of Notre Dame University in 1891, and from the Law Department of the State University of Iowa in 1894. He then located at Creston and entered the practice of law. In 1895 he became city solicitor of Creston, and in 1896 was elected county attorney of Union County and served during 1897 and 1898. In 1899 he removed to Des Moines where he continued practice, becoming associated, in 1904, with Jerry B. Sullivan, as Sullivan & Sullivan, which partnership continued until 1913. At the time of his death he was the senior member of the firm of Sullivan, Rippey & Sullivan. In 1906 he was elected representative, was re-elected in 1908 and in 1910 was elected senator, thus serving as representative in the Thirty-second and Thirty-third and as senator in the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth general assemblies. From September 25, 1917 to March 15, 1920 he served as a member of the Des Moines Board of Education. Originally a Democrat, after removing to Des Moines he affiliated with the Republican party.

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ALBERT E. JACKSON was born in Wabash County, Indiana, September 23, 1860, and died in a hospital in Iowa City, Iowa, July 11, 1924. Interment was at Tama. He was brought by his parents, Andrew and Catharine Jackson, when they removed to a farm near Tama in 1861. He was graduated from Tama High School in 1879, taught school awhile, and then entered the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Tama as cashier, remaining several years. In 1895 he was elected representative and was re-elected in 1897, serving in the Thirty-sixth, Thirty-sixth Extra, and Thirty-seventh general assemblies. He was the Fifth District member of the Democratic State Central Committee from 1899 to 1904 inclusive, being secretary of the committee in 1900, and chairman in 1902 and 1903. He purchased the *Tama News* in 1906 and for eight years was its editor and publisher. For eight years he was postmaster at Tama, President Wilson appointing him in 1914, and reappointing him four years later. He was an able writer, an accomplished and a scholarly man, a nature lover, and a useful citizen.

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HORACE H. WILLSON was born near Wellman, Iowa, January 26, 1854, and died at Iowa City, January 21, 1926. Burial was at his home at Wellman. His parents were James Monroe and Elizabeth (Moon) Willson. Horace was reared on his parents' farm, helped with the farm labor in the summer, attended school in the winter, attended Washington Academy for a time, and taught school several terms. He followed farming until 1903, when he removed to Wellman. He held several local offices and in 1903 was elected representative and served in the Thirtieth and Thirty-first general assemblies. He was a Democrat in politics.



SAMUEL M. LEACH was born in St. Clair County, Illinois, September 18, 1849, and died at Adel, Iowa, August 22, 1925. His parents were James W. and Elizabeth Anderson Leach. They removed to a farm in Clay County, Missouri, when Samuel was only a few months old. In 1864, at the age of fifteen years, he entered the academy at Bonaparte, Iowa, remaining three years. He then commenced to learn the printing business. For two years he was foreman of the *Keokuk Gate City*, but in 1874 purchased an interest in the *Osceola Sentinel* and edited it for seven years. In 1881 he removed to Adel and established the Adel State Bank, remaining its active head forty-four years. He was a man of strong personality and influence, useful to his community, and took a part in public affairs, but did not seek public position. He was the Seventh District member of the Republican State Central Committee from 1897 to 1900, and was the Seventh District member of the Iowa Commission to the Louisiana Exposition at St. Louis in 1904.

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SAMUEL WESLEY KLAUS was born near Colesburg, Delaware County, Iowa, January 12, 1861, and died in an automobile accident near Earlville November 21, 1925. Burial was at Earlville. His parents were John D. and Elizabeth (Hartbeck) Klaus. He attended public school and was graduated from Northwestern College, Galena, Illinois, in 1882. He then taught school two terms, clerked in a store three years, and in 1887 established a store in Earlville, and for nearly forty years followed the vocation of merchant. He was for many years a member of the town council of Earlville, also served as mayor, member of the Board of Education, was for ten years chairman of the Republican County Central Committee, and in 1916 was elected representative, re-elected in 1918, and served with credit and ability in the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth general assemblies. He was a prominent lay member of the Methodist Episcopal church, and a leader in Red Cross and other benevolent activities.

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DENNIS A. LYONS was born at Blue Island, now a part of Chicago, Illinois, September 8, 1851, and died at Cresco, Iowa, March 24, 1925. When he was sixteen his parents removed with their family to a farm in Winneshiek County, Iowa. In addition to common school Dennis attended Breckenridge Institute at Decorah. In 1877 he formed a partnership with R. J. McHugh as McHugh & Lyons, dealers in farm implements, at Cresco and continued in that business until he retired in 1909. He was twice mayor of Cresco, and in 1897 was elected senator, and was re-elected in 1901, serving from the Twenty-seventh to the Thirty-first General Assembly inclusive. He also was a member of the Democratic State Central Committee for four years, beginning with 1900. He was a devoted member of the Roman Catholic church and a man of influence in his part of the state.

JAMES W. BOWMAN was born near Marion, Iowa, April 18, 1862, and died in Marion, November 3, 1925. He lived on a farm until the fall of 1896 when he was elected clerk of the District Court for Linn County. He was re-elected two years later, serving from 1897 to 1900 inclusive. He went from his service in that office to the First National Bank of Marion as cashier. In 1908 he was elected representative, and was re-elected in 1910, serving in the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth general assemblies. He also served as member of the City Council of Marion, member of the Marion Public Library Board, and chairman of the Linn County Republican Central Committee. At the time of his death he was president of the First National Bank of Marion, and president of the Linn County Bankers' Association.

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THOMAS FRANKLIN CAMPBELL was born in Shelbyville, Indiana, August 9, 1844, and died at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, March 27, 1925. His parents, Hugh and Chaney (Ray) Campbell, removed with their family to a farm near Wayland, Henry County, Iowa, in 1851. Thomas Franklin attended common school there and Howe's Academy at Mount Pleasant. On March 26, 1864, he enlisted in Company K. Fourth Iowa Cavalry, and served until the regiment was mustered out August 8, 1865, at Atlanta, Georgia. He followed the vocation of farmer and stockman, took an active interest in public matters, was for many years president of the Henry County Farmers Mutual Insurance Company, and in 1899 was elected on the Democratic ticket as a representative, and served in the Twenty-eighth General Assembly.

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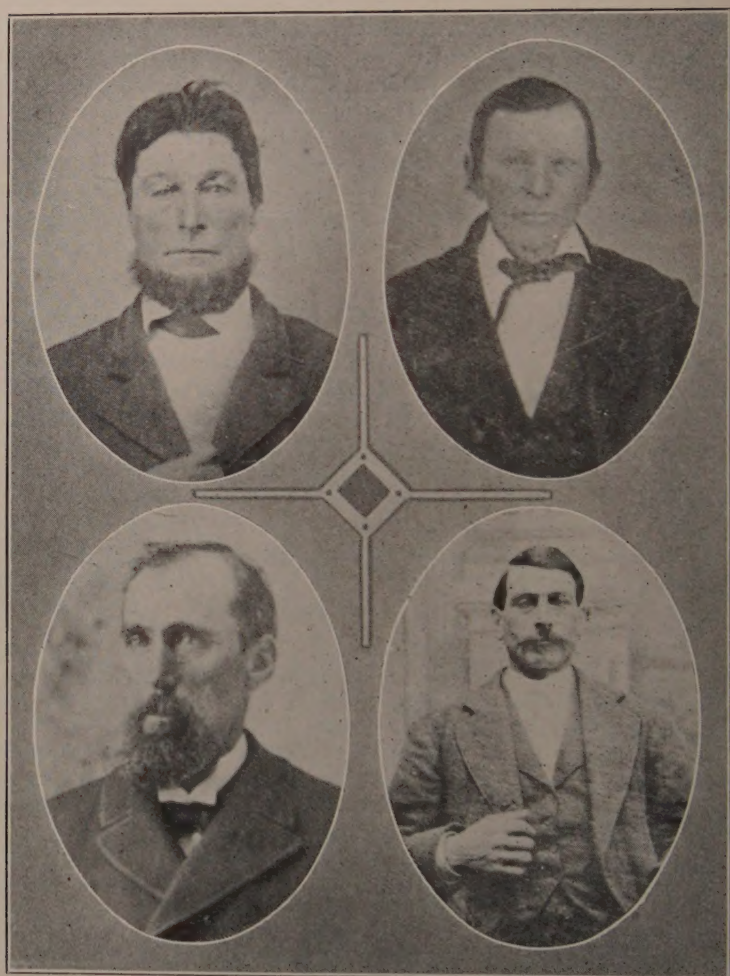
JACOB NABSTEDT was born in Holstein, Germany, March 6, 1846, and died in Davenport, Iowa, February 6, 1925. He was educated in Holstein and became a sailor. In 1866 he immigrated to Charleston, Massachusetts, and in 1867 removed to Davenport, Iowa, and became connected with the Robert Kraus Company, manufacturers of men's wear. He remained with them until 1895 when he entered real estate business as a partner in the firm of Nabstedt & Pierce, from which he retired in 1903. In 1897 he was elected representative and served in the Twenty-seventh General Assembly.

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JOHN HERON was born in Clinton County, Pennsylvania, October 24, 1840, and died at Lockridge, Jefferson County, Iowa, August 27, 1925. His parents were David and Janet Heron, who removed with their family to near Lockridge in 1857. In August, 1861, John served in the Coalport Home Guards, a local company which assisted in checking attempted invasions of Confederates from Missouri. He enlisted in Company E, Second Iowa Infantry, September 8, 1861, and was mustered out September 7, 1864, at the end of his service. In 1879 he was elected representative and served in the Seventeenth General Assembly.







WHITLEY ALLEN  
CHARLES W. HOOVER

BARNABAS RAY  
ISAAC ALLEN

Pioneer Religious Revivalists of Madison County, Iowa.